This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

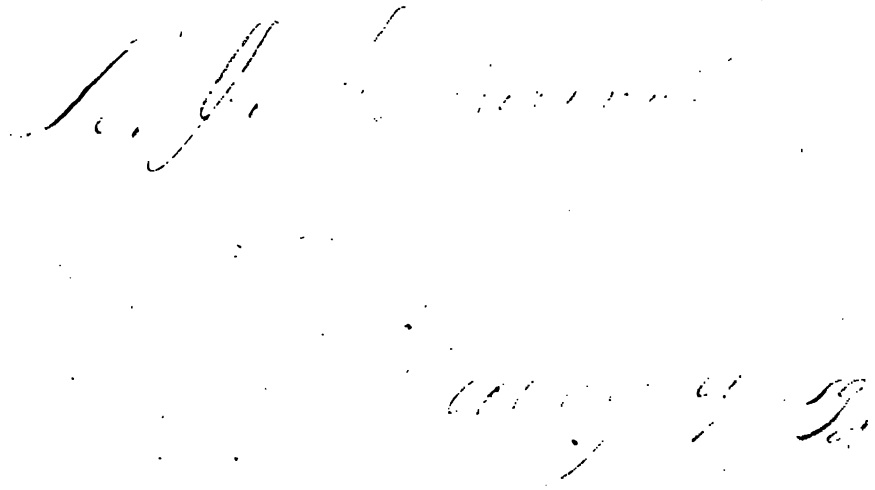
About Google Book Search

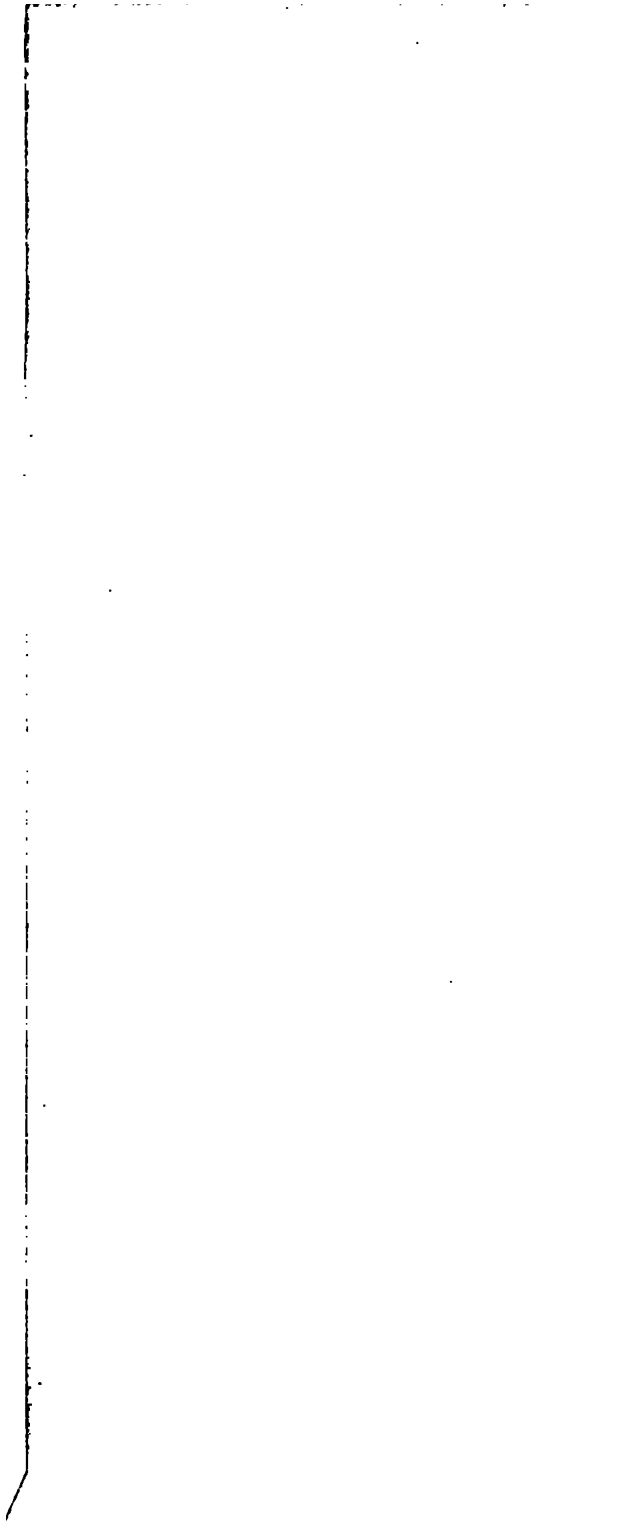
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

200
2W6s

713.042
R552e
V.1

STANFORD·VNIVERSITY·LIBRARY





Riedesel

Herzogl. braunschweigscher General-Lieutenant.

[illegible]

[illegible] GENERAL BIBLE [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] IN AMERICA

[illegible]

[illegible] BE ORIGINAL [illegible] OF MAN [illegible] BIBLE [illegible]

[illegible] ELIJAH [illegible] STONE,

[illegible]

VOL. I

Riedesel

Herzogl. braunschweigscher General-Lieutenant.

MEMOIRS,

AND

LETTERS AND JOURNALS,

OF

MAJOR GENERAL RIEDESEL,

DURING HIS

RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.

TRANSLATED

FROM THE ORIGINAL GERMAN OF MAX VON EELKING.

BY

WILLIAM L. STONE,

AUTHOR OF THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON, BART.;
LIFE AND WRITINGS OF COL. WILLIAM L. STONE, ETC., ETC.

VOL. I.

ALBANY:
J. MUNSELL, 82 STATE STREET.
1868.

STANFORD LIBRARY

973.342
R552e
V. 1

Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1868,
By J. Munsell,
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States,
for the Northern District of New York.

296064

STANFORD LIBRARY

TO

MY FRIENDS

RICHARD L. ALLEN AND WILLIAM HAY

OF

SARATOGA SPRINGS, N. Y.,

WHO HAVE SO KINDLY AIDED ME IN MY
HISTORICAL INVESTIGATIONS,

These Volumes

ARE

AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED.

PREFACE.

The life of General Riedesel,[1] during his residence in America, is a more complete and accurate history of the CAMPAIGN OF GENERAL BURGOYNE than any that has yet appeared. The statements of our ablest historians concerning the movements of the British in that campaign are, necessarily perhaps, extremely vague; while those of our pictorial and school histories, respecting both the British and the Americans, are full of gross errors. The present work, however, is based on the private and official journals of Riedesel and his officers, and presents the campaign with a minuteness of detail, which must, hereafter, make it a standard authority upon the subject of which it treats.

After I had translated the work, and before placing it in the hands of the printer, I spent several days in going over the battle-grounds. With Riedesel's journals in one hand, and the maps — drawn on the spot by Burgoyne's chief engineer — in the other, I began

[1] This name has been universally mispronounced in this country. It is composed of two German words, *ried* and *ésel*, and is pronounced *Re-day-zel*, with the accent on the second syllable.

my investigations at the place where the British army crossed the Hudson, and traced every step of its movements down the river to the scene of the last battle of October 7th, 1777, and back again to the site of the surrender. In the course of this tour two important facts were elicited:

1st. That the face of the country has undergone scarcely any change. The same trees, the same brooks, and even the same stones remain in the precise localities where they were sketched by the British.

2d. That the term Battle of *Bemis's* Heights, which has hitherto obtained when designating the scene of the action, is entirely erroneous, and only calculated seriously to mislead. The first action, on the 19th of September, was, as is well known, fought on Freeman's farm. But, with a few exceptions, it has always been supposed by the best informed writers upon the subject, that the second battle on the 7th of October, was fought on *Bemis's heights.* The maps, however, show, that the action began on ground about two hundred rods southwest of the site of the first Battle of Freeman's Farm, and ended on the *same* ground on which the first action was fought. Thus Bemis's heights are fully one mile and a half south of the battle ground. In fact all the interest which attaches to these heights, is, that they were the headquarters of General Gates during and a short time

previous to the battle. The origin of this mistake, as the maps clearly demonstrate, was in the belief that the army of Burgoyne began the advance in two columns from Taylor's house, the ruins of which are yet standing a few rods north of Wilbur's basin. It is now, however, ascertained that the advance began in three columns from Sword's house, the site of which is about one mile and a half north of the Taylor house.

As the historical student will readily believe, I found local tradition, as a general thing, entirely unreliable. By the aid, however, of the journals and the maps I think I succeeded in all I set out to accomplish, viz: to verify tradition when possible — to overthrow it when necessary; but in every case to put the matter beyond the peradventure of a doubt. The results of my investigations in detail will be found in the notes to the present translation.

This work also contains valuable information in regard to the movements of the Brunswick troops, while residents of America, and affords a clear view of the condition and internal relations of Canada during the latter part of the revolutionary war — points which have, hitherto, been involved in obscurity.

My thanks are due to Henry A. Fisher, Esq., of New York city, for valuable aid in the translation of these volumes; to George Washington Greene of East

Greenwich, R. I., for copies of General Riedesel's letters to General Nathaniel Greene; and to the late Theodore Dwight of Brooklyn, for interesting documents relating to the engagement near Bennington.[1]

If this translation shall assist in correcting the errors that have hitherto obtained in relation to an event which, in its results, was the most important of any in our revolutionary annals, the object of it will have been accomplished.

WILLIAM L. STONE.

Saratoga Springs, January 1st, 1868.

---

[1] These documents will be found in the appendices.

Maryland Library

SKETCH OF MAJ. GEN. RIEDESEL.

The baronial family of Riedesel is one of the richest and oldest in the interior of Germany. The first mention of it is in the year 1226, although previous to this period a Conrad Von Riedesel is referred to as having lived in the second half of the 12th century. Of three lines into which the family were originally divided, two soon became extinct, leaving only the third one, the Melsunger, the direct ancestor of the subject of the present sketch. By a fortunate marriage, the family rapidly advanced in wealth and position. A Herman Riedesel, marrying the only surviving heiress of the Hessian Marshal Eckart Van Rohrenfurth, obtained by this union the rich possessions and the hereditary office of land marshal — that prince generously resigning his right of confiscating the fief, which had become vacant by the extinction of the male line. Eisenbach was the most important of the Rohrenfurth possessions; and from this time the lords of Riedesel retained the title of hereditary marshals, and signed themselves Reidesel-Eisenbach. By marriages, purchase and other fortunate circumstances, the Riedesel family have accumulated such a large landed estate, that it comprises at the present time an area of seven and a half square miles, inhabited by upward of twenty thousand people. These possessions lie principally in both the Hessias and on the Vogelsberg, and are entitled to all the privileges of a sovereignty without the lords of Riedesel being sovereigns. In the year 1680 the Riedesel estate was constituted an independent province, and the Riedesels, themselves, made barons of the empire.

Friederich Adolphus Riedesel, the subject of this sketch, was born on the 3d of June, 1738, in the ancestral castle at Lauterbach, in Rhinehesse. His father, John William, was at that time government assessor and page to the prince of Eisenach. His mother, Sophie Hedwig, was the daughter of Baron Van Borke, a Prussian lieutenant general and governor of Stettin.

Of the early youth of Riedesel, very little is known with certainty, except that his father sent him, with his younger brother, to a clergyman in Frischborn (a village near Lauterbach) to be educated. This was done with a view of giving him such literary knowledge as should prepare him for the profession of the law, to which he was destined by his father. Accordingly, at the age of fifteen, he left the quiet parsonage to attend a law school at Marburg. There happened to be at this time a Hessian battalion of infantry in garrison at Marburg, which, like all the troops of the landgrave, was particularly distinguished for its splendid martial appearance and drill. The sight of these troops was an entirely new experience to the youth, who, with his natural activity and lively disposition, soon conceived a strong passion for a military life; and, as a natural consequence, he was oftener seen on the parade ground as a spectator, than at the law school as a listener to the lectures. Nor, indeed, was it a great while before he entirely threw aside the gown and wig for the sword and musket and joined the regiment. He was led into this step both by his own inclination and the persuasions of the wily major in command of the battalion, who represented that he had written to his father and obtained his consent. The deceit, however, was soon discovered, and his father, in his first ebullition of anger, wrote him a letter concluding as follows: "Since you, as a nobleman, have taken the oath, you must stand by it, but you must get along the best you can, for you need not look for further aid from me." But the father could not long remain estranged from the son, and he accordingly soon became reconciled, allow-

ing him a certain sum with which he was enabled to meet his necessary expenses.

The regiment of which Riedesel was now a vice ensign was soon after received into the English establishment and billeted on a town in the vicinity of London.

Ensign Riedesel had brought with him letters of introduction to several English families of wealth and position; but as he knew neither English nor French, they were at first of little use. He therefore studied the English and French grammars in his leisure hours, and applied himself so diligently that in a comparatively short time he could express himself tolerably well in either tongue; although he never became as proficient in the English as the French. He soon gained the friendship of several of the English officers who were irresistibly attracted to him by his winning manners and the natural frankness of his disposition. Many of the friendships thus formed were renewed again during the American revolution and continued through life.

Upon the breaking out of the seven years' war in 1756, his regiment was recalled to Germany, where he was attached in the capacity of general aid to the personal staff of Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick. The tact, judgment and bravery of the young ensign — at this time only nineteen — in a short time procured for him the entire confidence of the duke, who often honored him with important commissions, one of which was on the occasion of the battle of Minden in 1759. That action was severe and bloody. Ferdinand fought it with forty thousand men against eighty-five thousand Frenchmen, and gained the victory. During the progress of the battle, the aids and orderlies were continually flying from one part of the field to another, bearing the oral orders of the duke, who in the tumult of battle had no time to put them on paper. This was a service of great personal danger, requiring much cunning and courage. Riedesel, however, acquitted himself so well that the duke honored him in a particular manner by sending him as

special messenger with the news of the victory to his sovereign, the landgrave of Hessia. Inasmuch as only officers of age and long experience were generally sent on such missions, Reidesel had reason to be very much gratified at this preference. But the duke, as the result proved, had another object in selecting him for this errand. The latter, after formally announcing the result of the battle, had added a few lines in which he informed the landgrave of the excellent conduct of his aid, and requested him to give him a recognition of his services. This the landgrave promptly did, by promoting the young ensign to a captaincy of cavalry, and giving him, at the same time, a squadron in one of his new regiments of hussars, at that time in the allied army.[1] Riedesel, however, never led his squadron; for the duke, who was evidently attached to him, soon after placed him again upon his personal staff, giving him unlimited confidence, asking his advice on the most important affairs, and not unfrequently admitting him to councils of war.

In fact, the duties of Riedesel at this time were rather of a peculiar nature. The duke having under him troops from different nationalities found it difficult at first to judge of the abilities of their officers, who, although old veterans, were not accustomed to the military tactics of the commander in chief, and frequently blundered terribly in their manœuvres. In order, however, that he might not give offense, he hit upon the expedient of sending, during or just before a battle, one of his adjutants with written or oral instructions to those officers, in whom he had not the greatest confidence. In these orders it was generally stated that the bearer would direct the colonel or general, as the case might be, in accordance with the wishes

[1] The Hessian Regiment of Blue Hussars, to which Riedesel was assigned, was one of the best and most finely accoutred of any of that day. Their jackets and dolimans were sky-blue and white, and the trousers red. The uniforms of the officers were richly decorated with silver — the hats being blue with a bunch of heron feathers. Hussars were at this period something quite new; and the landgrave, who took an especial pride in his troops, spared neither money nor pains upon their equipment.

of the duke. Riedesel was the one usually selected for this duty as he seemed to possess the faculty of carrying out his instructions so as to satisfy the duke on the one hand, and not offend the different commanders on the other. On these occasions he at first carried with him a letter from the duke in which, with consummate tact, it was stated that the adjutant, being, perhaps, more familiar with the country than themselves, would suggest the details of the movement. In course of time, however, the officers became so accustomed to this plan and learned to place such reliance upon the young adjutant, that they no longer required this letter of authority. The well known fact, also, that Riedesel never abused his power, gained him the confidence of the officers; and he was soon universally beloved by the whole army, notwithstanding he never allowed anything contrary to the rules of the service, but invariably reported any dereliction of duty to head quarters. Being, also, often sent on reconnoissances into the surrounding country and having an excellent memory, no one in the army was so well acquainted with the roads, rivers, forests and passes as himself. His services in this line were invaluable to his commanding officer; for by his personal reconnoissances and his well ordered system of spies, he became thoroughly acquainted with the character and habits of the enemy's leaders and the strength of their divisions.[1] He made it a point to have good spies, paying them for their services extraordinary prices; but such was the confidence reposed in him by his duke, that the latter gave him in this particular full power, and honored all his bills without hesitation. In fine, to sum up, he possessed the peculiar faculty or gift, as the German expresses it, *of finding himself right;* or as we would term it, of being a *successful officer.*

In 1761, the landgrave of Hessia having overlooked Riedesel in his promotions, the latter resigned his commission. In

---

[1] Had Burgoyne availed himself of Riedesel's experience in this particular and listened to his advice, the disaster at Bennington would never have occurred.

reparation for this slight, Ferdinand appointed him, in May of the same year, lieutenant colonel of his Black Hussars; and two months after gave him in addition the command of Bauer's regiment — the two being equal to a brigade of cavalry. On the 22d of May, at the head of his hussars, he attacked General Conflans with great impetuosity. While leading on his men, he was struck by a bullet in his breast and carried off the field in an insensible condition. Happily, no artery was severed, though he was much weakened by loss of blood; and, nursed by loving friends, he soon recovered. He afterward said that he scarcely felt the bullet in the heat of the battle, having fought quite a while after being wounded. He also stated that he remembered distinctly seeing the French chasseur taking aim at him from behind a hedge.

Nor was this the only occasion, during this period of his life, that Riedesel's intrepidity was shown. On the night of the 16th of August, 1761, Marshal Broglio ordered the Prince Xavier of Saxony, with a corps of the army, to cross the Weser and attack General Luckner, under whom was Riedesel. When the prince arrived on the banks of the river, Luckner was observed on the opposite shore bringing up a battery to destroy the bridge. A heavy cannonade at once commenced, which, however, accomplished nothing for either side as the distance was too great. But the prince, believing that the fault was in his men, sent one of his aids to a battery to tell the gunners to take better aim. Arriving there, a controversy arose between the messenger and the officers in charge of the battery in regard to the firing, which resulted in the former dismounting from his horse and directing one of the pieces himself. In front of the hussars who defended the bridge at the other extremity, sat an officer on a white horse. Taking aim at this conspicuous mark the aid discharged the gun. As soon as the smoke cleared away a shout arose from the successful artillerists as they beheld horse and rider fall to the ground. Prince Xavier noticed through his field glass the success of his adjutant; but

he also observed the officer whose horse had been killed, work himself out from under it, directly mount another one, and take his place again as if nothing had occurred. This incident was made by the prince, who was a brave man himself and honored bravery in another though an adversary, the occasion for a chivalric act. Toward evening of the same day a cavalry man approached the lines of General Luckner leading two horses, one of which was richly caparisoned and a most beautiful animal. At first, every one supposed him to be a deserter bringing a peace offering. This belief, however, was soon dispelled, when the man, having been brought before General Luckner, tendered the friendly salutations of the prince of Saxony, at the same time requesting the general to give the beautiful horse to that officer who, during the day, had had the misfortune to lose his. It was soon discovered that the individual designated was none other than Riedesel, who was not a little surprised at the friendly gift. He did not hesitate to accept the proffered kindness, but expressed his thanks in a note to the donor, and gave the bearer of the present a considerable sum of money. But that which caused even more sensation in the camp than the gift itself was, that one brother had aimed the gun at another brother; for the adjutant who had taken such good aim, was no other than Riedesel's own brother! Neither of the brothers had dreamed of being so near each other.

On the 10th of August of the next year, Riedesel received orders to attack a detachment of two thousand men under St. Victor. In this engagement, in which two hundred of the enemy were killed and three hundred taken prisoners, Riedesel distinguished himself with so much personal bravery as to call forth from the duke a renewed proof of his confidence: "I rejoiced very much," writes the duke to him the day after the action, "when I heard of your successful attack, and wait impatiently for a detailed report from you." And again, on another occasion, upon his favorite aid surprising and capturing the village of Menneringhausen, the duke writes to him in the

same strain: "I am much pleased with your diligence and activity. On all possible occasions I will give you proofs of my friendship and obligations."

Indeed, although he was at this time but twenty-two years of age, these and subsequent events prove that he had already accomplished more than could have been reasonably expected of a person of his age and rank, since he occupied a position such as is generally alone held by older and higher officers. It is not known with certainty whether he was at this time adjutant to the duke or not, his duties being in reality higher than those of that rank. Still, as there are letters yet extant, directed to the "adjutant of his excellency, the duke of Brunswick Lüneburg," nothing in relation to this point can be said with certainty. He was engaged in active service throughout the whole of the war; and, upon peace being declared, he retired into winter quarters, and, at Wulfenbüttel in the Duchy of Brunswick, and in the month of December, 1762, was married to Frederica Von Massow, second daughter of Commissary General Von Massow, whose acquaintance he had formed in the course of his military career.[1]

His personal appearance at this period of his life is described by Eelking as follows:

"There is an excellent portrait in the possession of the family, which represents the entire person of the captain of hussars

---

[1] For a detailed account of Riedesel's romantic courtship and marriage the reader is referred to *The Letters and Journals of Mrs. General Riedesel* which forms the sixth volume of Munsell's Series of Local American History.

The fruit of this marriage was nine children, viz: 1st, Christian Charles Louis Ferdinand Henry William Herman Valentine, born in Berlin, January 6th, 1766; died February 2d, 1767. 2d, Philippina, March 29th, 1770; died February 2d, 1771. 3d, Augusta, August 8th, 1771. 4th, Frederika, May 12th, 1774; married to Count Reden, who died in 1854. 5th, Caroline, born at Wulfenbüttel in March, 1776; unmarried. 6th, America, born in New York city on the 7th March, 1780; married to Count Bernsdorf. 7th, Canada, born at Sorel, Canada, on the 1st November, 1782; lived but a few weeks. 8th, Charlotte, wife of Major Van Schöning in the service of the king of Saxony. 9th, George; died 4th of August, 1854, at Bachwald in Silesia.

[Riedesel] at about one-fifth of his size. We see him there in the elegant and tasty uniform of his regiment, in the freshness of youth and the vigor of health. He is of medium height, of noble and easy carriage, and at the same time daring as becomes an officer of cavalry. His face is full and round, his cheeks rosy with health, while his fine and regular features indicate benevolence, goodness, manly resolution and a fixed purpose. In his especially beautiful, large blue eyes, full of vivacity and kindness, we see that nothing impure is hidden behind that mirror of the soul. His interior is in harmony with his exterior. His heart beats warmly for everything noble and good; and sentiments of friendship and love occupy a large space in that bosom — so full of courage and daring. Such a form, with such qualities of heart and soul, easily won the affections of those who came in contact with him."

"On account of his great industry," continues his biographer, "Riedesel, at this time, had little time which he could call his own. His pen, as well as his sword, was constantly in demand. But the former, after its regular duties, he could devote, in a measure, to his friends and loved ones. His heart, so susceptible to friendship, did not grow cold under the absorbing excitements of business; and it needed the refreshing influence of intimate correspondence when, by distance, it could not give utterance to the friend in words. Thus we always find, in addition to his official correspondence, another one which never mentions passing events. His letters to Westphal, Wingingerode, Desenthal, Bülow, Günther and others are the outpourings of the warmest and noblest feelings of his innermost soul, standing revealed in the sunlight pure as gold."

On the disbanding of his regiment in 1767, Riedesel was appointed adjutant general of the Brunswick army. Henceforth his advancement was rapid. In 1772, he was named colonel of carbineers, which was subsequently formed into a regiment of dragoons. Shortly after, the American revolution broke out; and to crush her revolted colonies, England entered, early in 1776,

into treaties with the petty sovereigns of Germany to take into her service upward of twenty thousand German troops, of which nearly four thousand were from Brunswick. Colonel Riedesel was at once advanced to the rank of major general and given the command of the Brunswickers. He sailed from the Elbe on the 21st of March, 1776, arrived at Spithead on the 28th, and sailed on the 4th of April for Quebec, where he arrived on the 1st of June. After spending a year in Canada, he accompanied General Burgoyne on the expedition which resulted so disastrously for British arms. After the surrender of that general to Gates, he accompanied his commander in chief to Albany, where, as related at length by his noble wife who shared his captivity, he was entertained with the most lavish hospitality by General Schuyler and his wife. Leaving that city on the 22d of October, 1777, he set out for Cambridge, Massachusetts, and arrived there, with the other German prisoners, on the 7th of the following November. In November, 1778, the German troops having been transferred by order of congress to Virginia, Riedesel and his wife and family went with them. After remaining in that province for several months, he was permitted, in November, 1779, to remove to New York city, where he was exchanged in the autumn of 1780. His active temperament, however, would not allow him to remain idle. Accordingly, General Clinton, at his solicitation, conferred on him a command on Long island. He remained on the island (having his head quarters on the present Brooklyn Heights), until the 11th of July, 1781, when he embarked with his family on board a miserable tub of a transport — The Little Deal — for Canada. After touching at Halifax and being hospitably entertained by the commandant of that town, he arrived a second time at Quebec on the 10th of September, 1781, and at once took possession of his old quarters at Sorel, having been placed in charge of that district which lies south of the St. Lawrence between the Sorel and Lake Champlain. In 1783, an order having been received to send home the German troops,

he sailed from Quebec in August of that year and arrived, after a remarkably quick passage, in England. Thence he proceeded to his home in Wulfenbüttel, which he entered at the head of his troops to receive from the authorities of that town an august and formal reception.[1] On the fifth of March, 1787, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant general; and in the following year, was appointed to the command of the Brunswick contingent, which composed a portion of the German army that was sent to Holland to support the cause of the stadtholder. He served with brief intervals in that country until the close of 1793, when he retired to his ancestral castle in Lauterbach (his birth-place).[2] In 1794, he returned to Brunswick, having been appointed commandant of that city. He did not, however, long enjoy the honors and emoluments of that office, as he died in that town on the 6th of January, 1800, in the sixty-second year of his age. Max Von Eelking has described his last illness and death in the following touchingly beautiful and graphic manner:

"The health of General Riedesel was so much improved after his return from Holland, that on the last day of the year 1799, he was well enough to ride his favorite horse in the avenue. A number of friends had assembled at his house on New Year's eve, at his request, as he wished, in accordance with the good old German custom, to enjoy the last hours of the departing year, and welcome in the new. All the company were in such good spirits that they danced after supper; and Riedesel, always a friend to innocent, social amusements, danced a few rounds himself. Thus he entered upon the New Year, and went to bed apparently in perfect health; but it was destined that he should never again be well.

"During the night, he was taken suddenly ill, having undoubtedly taken cold while riding on horseback the previous

[1] Of the four thousand Brunswickers who left Germany with General Riedesel for America in 1776, only twenty-eight hundred returned.

[2] This castle was burned by the mob in the troublous times of 1848.

afternoon. The following morning he was no better, but it being the day for general calling at the court, he would not give up, and accordingly rode there to offer his congratulations to the beloved, noble family, on this the first day of the New Year. He, however, rapidly grew worse, and on retiring from the palace was obliged to lie down. The physician, who was immediately called in, pronounced the disease inflammation of the scrotum, and, in answer to the inquiries of the family, could not conceal his alarm.

"On the evening of the 6th of January, however, he again felt so well, that he left his bed and played a game of whist. He appeared remarkably cheerful and talkative, and seemed to have considerable appetite. At ten o'clock he retired. His eldest daughter was then on a visit to her parents with her husband, Count Reuss. Thus, all the members of the family were present, and wished him a joyful good night, in the confident hope, that his complete recovery was near. But the death angel was nearer!

"The next morning, before day-break, when Count Reuss approached the bedside of the patient, he supposed that he still slept, but on looking closer, and taking hold of his hand, he found it stiff and cold. The dear one indeed slept, but it was the sleep of death! Apoplexy had terminated the life of the nobleman, inflammation at the same time taking place in the diseased part. Count Reuss at once called the son into the room; and, presently, the bereaved survivors stood around the death-couch.

"The sad news soon spread throughout the city and country; and the loss of a man, who was universally beloved and esteemed, was mourned in all circles. The earthly remains were taken to Lauterbach and solemnly placed within the family vault."

Riedesel possessed all the qualities of a good and brave soldier. To coolness and discretion in danger, he united that quickness in action which he always knew how to exercise at the right moment. His clear understanding comprehended everything readily, and his presence of mind and good memory seldom forsook him. Some of these traits are especially illustrated in the following adventure which happened during the seven years' war: In one of his campaigns, Riedesel was in the habit of calling on a noble family whose country seat was but a short distance from head quarters. On such occasions he was accompanied by only one servant, there being, as he thought, no danger of a surprise. But one dismal, foggy afternoon in December, as he was cosily chatting with this family, one of the ladies noticed through the window a number of horsemen approaching the house. She immediately called her guest's attention to the party, who were at once recognised by him as French hussars. The family were greatly alarmed for his safety, as none of them could see how escape was possible, since the castle was surrounded by a moat filled with water, and had but one entrance over a bridge. Nor was there time, even had he been so disposed, to escape on horseback, since, before he could mount, the enemy would be at the other end of the bridge ready to cut off his retreat. His entertainers implored him to conceal himself in the castle, but to this he would not consent. Hastily gathering up his things which lay about the room, he girded on his sword and bid them adieu. Then snatching from his servant an old cavalry cloak, which the latter had taken a few days before from a Frenchman, he threw it over his shoulders, told his servant to hide, mounted his own horse, which stood already saddled, and rode slowly toward the bridge. The hussars having by this time arrived in front of the gate, Riedesel authoritatively requested them in their own language to make room. Thinking that he was a French officer, the hussars rode

closer together, at the same time saluting him, while he, wishing them a good evening, rode slowly past, and escaped. The fair group in the drawing-room breathed freer upon seeing the daring captain of cavalry in safety, though their joy was somewhat alloyed by their terror, incident upon the *entrée* of the unwelcome guests. The latter, however, after helping themselves to some feed for their horses, departed quietly, giving Riedesel's servant, who had been hidden under a haystack, an opportunity to rejoin his master in safety.

In temperament, Riedesel was impulsive and sensitive, vehement and passionate, and easily inclined to anger when his indignation was aroused. But he soon controlled himself, and frankly hastened to do justice to those whose feelings he had unwittingly injured while under excitement. He was, however, equally given to noble and generous promptings. This is shown in another incident, that also occurred during the seven years' war, which strikingly illustrates the chivalric element of his nature.

On the 20th of May, 1762, Riedesel, with a small detachment of his hussars, had a skirmish with a foraging party of the French, in which, after capturing a number of men and horses, he was victorious. During the combat, Brigadier General De Larre, the leader of the French, fell wounded from his horse, which became a prize in the hands of the German hussars. The general, however, was rescued by his men and carried to Göttingen. The horse of the defeated general was a beautiful animal which he valued highly as a gift to him from a dear friend; and its loss occasioned him even more pain than his wounds. The French cavalry officers, however, knowing Riedesel's noble nature, persuaded their general to address a note to him, soliciting the return of the horse, at the same time offering to pay the hussars who had captured it, any sum of money which he might name. Upon the reception of this letter, Riedesel at once sent the animal back to his master, declining all remuneration, but paying out of his private purse, a sum of

money to its captor. The wounded officer was deeply touched at this conduct, and in another letter expressed his gratitude to Riedesel for his gallantry and generosity in thus fulfilling his wishes. He did not live, however, to again mount his favorite horse, for on the 28th he died. Shortly before his death, he requested to be carried to the window that he might look once more upon his horse, which was being led about the yard by its groom. Upon the decease of their general, his fellow officers held a consultation in relation to the disposition of the horse, and determined to present it to the donor who so generously had returned it to its owner. Major Spitzenburg of the Flanders Volunteers accordingly wrote the same day to Riedesel, that their general, being dead, the horse belonged to him, and, in behalf of his fellow officers, he begged his acceptance of the animal as a mark of their gratitude. "We the friends of General De Larre," adds the letter, "feel under many obligations to you for your courtesy, and wish in this manner, to repay somewhat, our obligations to you. By accepting this gift, therefore, give us an opportunity of so doing." Riedesel, in accepting the horse, expressed his appreciation of this delicate attention, and assured the givers that he would always keep the animal in memory of the departed general. It was for a long time his favorite horse. Such touching episodes as this, greatly relieve the dark background of grim and bloody war.

Riedesel's love of justice and strict impartiality were well known; and these traits, accompanied by a friendly demeanor and an indefatigable care for the welfare of his subordinates, soon won the hearts of the troops of his own and other nationalities.[1] He punished severely but justly, and thus was enabled to preserve the respect of those who had merited chastisement.

Mingling in all classes of society, he acquired a rich and valuable experience in the knowledge of mankind. In his

---

[1] See Burgoyne's testimony upon this point in *The Letters and Journals of Mrs. General Riedesel.*

intercourse with the higher classes, he always showed culture and quickness of perception; and if his opinions were sometimes given too frankly and decidedly, his manner seldom gave offense. "Toward the fair sex," says his biographer, "he ever displayed that knightly gallantry which is yet found among elderly gentlemen of good families, and which, in spite of all changes in manners and usages, still appeal to the heart and soul." And while he never cringed or flattered any one against his convictions he was always courteous. With a common man — and herein unquestionably lay the secret of his popularity — he had the peculiar knack, while retaining his dignity, of using language which was the most suitable and intelligible. He would often converse with him in his own dialect, and loved to "crack a joke" without descending to those uncouth and coarse expressions which were then in vogue with many, even of his own station, and of whom, to this day, many anecdotes are told.[1] His men knew, that however severe might be his discipline, his heart beat ever in sympathy with all that was noble or beautiful in their natures; and hence his example upon them was always for good.

Notwithstanding, however, his manifold merits and the favor in which he was held by many sovereigns — to some of whom he had rendered valuable services — it is somewhat singular that his breast was decorated with only one order; a fact, moreover, which is rendered additionally striking, when it is remembered with what reckless prodigality, and upon what slight occasions, decorations are lavished in Germany. The decoration alluded to, was the grand cross of the ORDER OF THE GOLDEN LION,[2]

---

[1] This "peculiar knack," as I have called it in the text, of making an inferior feel at ease without descending to his own coarse and vulgar level, is possessed by few men. Sir William Johnson, in his intercourse with the Indians, had it; hence one great source of his influence and popularity with them.

[2] This order was founded on the 14th of August, 1770, by Frederick II, the first landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. The sovereign is the head, and the princes of his family are members by right of birth. It is given to Hessians and foreigners, whether civilians or military men, either as a reward for services, or as a proof of friendship. The recipients must always be of high birth, and occupy a prominent position.

with which he was invested by the elector of Hesse, William I. But the reputation of General Riedesel does not rest upon ribbons and golden tinsel. His name honors not only his own state, but also his common father-land.

TRANSLATOR.

1760–1776.

The important period in Riedesel's busy life, has now been reached. Duty compels him once more to draw his sword in the interest of a foreign power, far from his native soil, and for a cause to whose merits he is an entire stranger. Before, however, entering upon the narration of events which happened on the other side of the ocean, we must of necessity review the political situation at that time.

Ever since the year 1760, manifold troubles had arisen between England and her North American colonies, which very soon reached a pass that precluded their amicable adjustment. In the year 1774, hostilities assumed such a shape as to oblige General Gage to endeavor to suppress them by force of arms. This led to an engagement between the British and the American militia, near the village of Lexington, in which the former were beaten and forced to retreat into Boston.

Encouraged by the auspicious result of their first trial of arms, the Americans took up the sword in earnest; and in a very short time about twenty thousand militia had assembled in the vicinity of Boston, and laid siege to the British troops in that city.

The number of chevaliers is nominally fixed at forty-one, but this rule is constantly ignored. Up to the close of 1815, the order was limited to one class, but on the 1st of June, 1816, the elector, William I, changed the rules so as to include a second class, composed of a lesser rank.

The decoration consists of a grand cross attached to a wide, red ribbon (bordered with blue and white), carried like a scarf from right to left. The commanders wear it suspended from the neck.

The news of this event caused no little indignation and fear in England; and the ministry, vigorously supported by parliament, at once determined to send a reenforcement of troops to the revolted colonies, and for this purpose took the most energetic measures. The question, however, which now arose, was not whether troops should be sent — for on this point the government was unanimous — but what number could be raised; and here was the difficulty, since England, having at no time a superabundance of soldiers, found herself at this juncture, when she needed them most, especially deficient in that article. Accordingly, the old means of relief, of hiring foreign troops, was resorted too; and the ministry straightway began to cast longing glances upon those Continental nations, who had helped them previously in similar emergencies.

We now come to a subject, which, up to the present day, has been the occasion of many adverse criticisms, and which, also, has been used by the ill disposed and the ignorant, to attach, in the coarsest and most odious manner, a stain and a disgrace upon the German nation and her rulers, that can never be washed off. Indeed, they have not hesitated to call it "man-selling" and "soul-selling," and even worse names. Allusion is here made to the renting or letting of German troops to foreign powers for an adequate remuneration in money. It becomes, therefore, the duty of every German to wipe such stains out of his history as far as possible, even if they cannot be wholly removed. Consequently, whenever a favorable opportunity offers itself in the following pages, for doing this, the writer will not allow it to pass. It is far from his intention to hide or deny the bad consequences that have followed in the wake of subsidiary stipulations which every fair man could wish had never occurred. At the same time, however, he will endeavor, by proofs and authentic documents, to refute that which has been exaggerated, or added to by falsehood and malice.

A retrospective glance is necessary to a correct understanding of the circumstances which led to auxiliary troops being let for

money to foreign countries. And first, we cannot compare the present state of things with that which existed in the last century. Since then there has been a great change, not only in the realm of principles and ideas, but in that of actions. Every thing pertaining to society has undergone considerable reform, and the military profession is no exception to this rule. Endeavors are making, it is true, to show that the profession of arms is stationary, but facts prove that it has advanced equally with others. The system of recruiting was in vogue among European governments until near the close of the last century; that is, their armies consisted of men who either had sold themselves for the press money (enlisting for a certain number of years), or had been forced into the ranks. To the latter, especially, those belonged who led an unsteady life, having no legitimate means of livelihood, and who were consequently a burden both to their families and to community. Scarcely one-half of an army was composed of real subjects of the crown, almost every regiment containing men from different countries who were gathered either by fate or the recruiting officer. That period, was, accordingly, in every particular rougher and harder — a circumstance that must not be overlooked by those who would judge the system impartially. Recruiting at that time was *privileged, universal.* Every one, therefore, was accustomed to it, and viewed it from a different stand-point than they do now. That many abuses were connected with it cannot be denied; but where can perfection be found in this world? The recruiting system was an unavoidable necessity, both because armies were necessary, and for the reason that no other method was known for creating them.

The recruited soldier belonged body and soul to him to whom he had sold himself; he had no country; no one belonged to him; he was severed from every tie; in short, he was, in every sense of the word, the property of his military lord, who could do with him as he saw fit. This sounds harsh to us, and, with our ideas, scarcely credible; yet, in those days, it was a common

thing. Even at the present day, sailors are sometimes impressed in maritime states, whose lot is worse than that of one who, one hundred years ago, was seized and forced into the ranks. Indeed, we find even now the system of impressing carried on in a European state which is with many the ideal of popular liberty — yea, even in our free cities, and yet we do not fall into a passion over it!

What was the position of a German soldier at that period in time of peace? He moved in an extremely narrow sphere, and led a very poor, and, at times, miserable existence. For years he did not leave the garrison; the same dull routine was repeated daily; and it was seldom that he could think of indulging in recreation and pleasure. Is it a wonder, then, that he gladly followed the flag when the war-drum was beaten, and that he joyfully exchanged the *ennui* of the camp for a life of comparative freedom and full of adventure and danger, especially when there was booty to be obtained, and also advancement when death and disease had thinned the ranks? Whither, or how far, no one asked: it was going to war: this was enough! Strict subordination, moreover, did not allow the soldier to ask why or wherefore he was to fight, and it, therefore, mattered little to him against whom he was led. He knew but one will — that of his military lord and superior.

Strenuous endeavors have been made to characterize as a great outrage, the impressment of the well known and beloved poet Seume by Hessian recruiting officers during the American war, chiefly because he was a noted personage. Might, of course, prevailed over right at that time. Still, a similar experience happened to many others, who, like that poet, could not show the necessary passport in their travels, and whose appearance, likewise, indicated that they led a vagabond life. Seume, while a student at Leipsig, left that city secretly. Caring very little for his personal appearance, he appeared so strange that some honest folk, who kept a tavern in a village near Erfurt, where he stopped, pointing to his broad sword, whispered that

likely as not he had with that weapon dispatched people out of the world! Was it, then, a wonder that the attention of the recruiting officers was attracted to him? Besides, any one could pretend to be a traveling student. The poet, himself, in his autobiography, describes his forced service in a humorous manner. Among other things, he says that his military life had its attractions, for it gave him the opportunity of crossing the ocean. Neither was he specially rejoiced when the news of peace came, thus enabling him to return to Europe. Speaking in reference to this, he says: "The news of peace was not very welcome, because young people, desirous of signalizing themselves in battle, did not like to see their career thus brought to an end. They had flattered me with the prospect of becoming an officer, in which event a new career might have opened for me; but with peace all this vanished." Does this sound like disgust or dissatisfaction with his situation? If the sending of soldiers to the American war by German princes was as dishonorable as many represent it at the present day, the service, certainly, would not have contained so many thorough and honorable men who went with the troops as officers — men, too, who had distinguished themselves and gained a high reputation during the seven years' war. The best soldiers under the best of leaders were sent to America, all of whom distinguished themselves in that country by bravery and discipline, thus heaping no disgrace upon the German name. The Americans, even to this day, must remember the substantial lessons taught them by German troops.

The landgrave of Hessia was especially an object of indignation. We are not able to say to what extent this censure is just; but it must not be overlooked that this prince was forced to participate in the war. The just, well meaning, and thoroughly posted heir to the throne of Brunswick says confidentially in a letter before the breaking out of the American war: "The landgrave will very likely, in spite of Eichfeld, furnish all or part of his troops. Otherwise he might get into difficulty with both sides;

for he is not strong enough to remain neutral, as his funds would soon be seized, and a lack of everything would soon be felt. It was believed at that time, that the difficulties between England and America would be fought out, not only in the colonies, but in Europe, and particularly in Germany. The landgrave of Hessia was thus forced to take sides with one of the parties. He accordingly entered into an agreement with England, or rather an offensive and defensive alliance, whereby Hessia agreed to support England with troops, the latter power also stipulating, in case of a German war, to protect Hessia. It appears further from the above letter of the heir to the Brunswick throne, that the landgrave of Hessia had money on hand before he sent his troops to America. We do not deny that this fund was augmented by the English subsidiary money; but it should not be forgotten that with this surplus, structures were erected, which to this day are an ornament to the land, and also that the state received its share of that sum.[1]

The motives which governed Brunswick in letting her troops for pay, and the manner in which she expended the money thus received, will appear in the following authentic documents. The possession of many soldiers was at that time an expensive luxury for German princes, using up, as it did, a large portion of their income, at a time, also, when their treasuries were very low in consequence of the seven years' war. England needed troops; the German states needed money; it was therefore natural that they should mutually aid each other. England had already been an ally of Hessia and Brunswick during the seven years' war; and in case of another war breaking out — an event which was thought extremely probable — that union would have to be renewed. Providence, therefore, dictated that there should be an immediate understanding with England, looking toward the formation of a league between the two countries. In forming

[1] It might, also, perhaps, pertinently be asked, which was the most heinous, *foreign* troops fighting the Americans for pay, or Englishmen fighting their own blood for pay?

this union, also, sides must be taken, as it was easily foreseen that it would be impossible to remain neutral. Thus originated the notorious subsidiary treaties.

The impartial reader will readily see that such transactions were owing more to the spirit of the time, than to any evil intention on the part of the rulers. Men do not govern the spirit of the age, but the latter controls the former.

In the beginning of the year 1776, England collected in this way, an army of 50,000 men, of which 16,900 were German troops. The latter were known in foreign countries, and bore a good name, having always fought well and with great endurance. They were, in addition, well trained and disciplined. They consisted of soldiers from Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Hanau, Brunswick, Anhalt, Ansbach and Waldeck. The first three mentioned states concluded, in 1776, a common subsidiary treaty with the crown of England. This treaty was published in English and German, and was, consequently, no secret. Its title was as follows: "The three entire subsidiary treaties which have been made between his majesty of Great Britain of the first part, and his highness, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, his highness, the duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, and his highness, the prince of Hesse-Cassel, as reigning count of Hanau, of the second part. English and German. Frankfort and Leipsig, 1776." This corps was to be made up of four battalions of grenadiers, each of four companies; fifteen battalions of infantry of five companies each; and two companies of yägers; and was to be equipped with all the implements of war. Of these, three battalions of grenadiers, six battalions of infantry, and one company of yägers, were to be ready on the 13th of February, to begin the march to Stade, where the troops were to embark. The remainder were to follow four weeks later. Each battalion was to receive two pieces of artillery.

This treaty, which was signed on the 13th of January, 1776, at Cassel by the English colonel, William Faucit and the Hessian minister Von Schlieffen, was, at the same time, an offensive

and defensive alliance; the king of England, as it has already been remarked, promising, in case of an attack on the Hessian countries, to protect them. The treaty with Brunswick had already been signed on the 9th of January, at the latter place, by the above named English commissary and the minister, Baron Von Feronce. According to this instrument, the Duke Charles agreed to furnish an infantry corps of 3,964 men, and 336 of light cavalry. The Brunswick dragoons not being mounted, it was specially agreed in Article II, that "His majesty of Great Britain, not deeming it advisable that this corps should be mounted, the same shall serve as a corps of infantry. But should the service demand that they should be mounted, then his majesty agrees to do it at his own expense."

The first division, consisting of 2,280 men, were also required to be in readiness for the march on the 15th of February — the other division of 2,018 men to begin their march during the last week of March. The entire corps was to be composed of five regiments and two battalions. This one, also, was to be supplied with all the necessaries of war. In Article XII, it reads, among other things, as follows: "This corps shall take the oath of allegiance to his Britannic majesty without its interfering with the oath which it has sworn its sovereign." Thirty thalers [1] were to be paid as a bounty for each man. One-third of this sum was to be paid one month after the signing of the treaty, and the remainder two months subsequently. This bounty was to be also paid for those who might be killed. England further agreed to make restitution for the loss of all men in engagements, during sieges, by contagious diseases, and while being transported on ships. Reenforcements were to be sent from Brunswick; and those offices which might become vacant were to be filled by the duke, who, also, retained the right of administrating justice.

In order, also, to refund the extra expenses occasioned by

[1] A Prussian thaler is equal to about seventy-five cents of United States money.

the shortness of the time in which the troops were to be placed in readiness, England agreed to furnish two months' pay before the marching of the men, and defray, moreover, all expenses of transportation from the day on which they began their march. The annual subsidy for Brunswick was regulated in the following manner: "It shall begin with the day of the signing of the present treaty, and shall be simple, that is — it shall amount to 64,500 German thalers, as long as these troops receive pay. From the time that these troops cease to receive pay, the subsidy shall be doubled, that is, it shall consist of 129,000 German thalers. The double subsidy shall continue for two years after the return of said troops into the domains of his excellency."

The treaty with the hereditary prince of Hessia, the reigning count of Hanau, was signed at Hanau, on the 5th of February, 1776, by the above named English minister, and Baron Frederich Von Malsburg, Count Von Hanau furnishing 608 infantry. Nothing is said in this treaty regarding the furnishing of artillery.

On the 10th of January, Colonel Riedesel, who had been appointed commander of the auxiliary troops of Brunswick, received his commission and instructions. These instructions were made up of nineteen articles. Article XIV reads thus: "We expect that you will, as far as lies in your power, see that our corps has its due, not only in the administration of justice, but in everything which may tend to preserve to us the priority of rank over the Hessian troops, which is but right. At the same time, you are to act in concert with the commanding general of those troops in cases of need, and to make *causam communem*, without, however, giving the appearance of dependence. This is specially enjoined upon you."

In reference, also, to the support of the troops, Article XVIII says: "Our colonel will also see to it, that whatever belongs to our troops according to agreement, shall be furnished them by the English commissary department during the campaign. Accidental vacancies, however, may be bought at a reasonable

rate, and the money paid over to the designated treasurers according to directions."

In reference to Riedesel himself, and the commanders, Article VIII adds: "If anything should happen to our colonel, preventing him from commanding, he must transfer his office *ad interim* to Colonel Specht, until otherwise ordered by us; and in case of his death, to Lieutenant Colonel Breymann. In case, also, of accident to Lieutenant Colonel Praetorius, Major Stelle is to take command of the regiment of Prince Frederick until otherwise ordered. In case of accident to Colonel Specht, Lieutenant Colonel Breymann will command the regiment, Major Monge taking his place as commander of the battalion of Grenadiers; and should Major Berne meet with an accident, then Major Von Lucke will take charge of the battalion of light infantry. In reference, however, to further vacancies that may occur, you are to refer to us for further orders."

To these instructions was added a printed copy of the subsidiary treaty. The Duke Charles writes:

"My Dear Colonel Riedesel:

"I send you herewith a commission, which, however, you are not to produce until you have finished the first march with the first division. I also send you instructions in German and French, together with the directions which each regimental commander will likewise receive. You will make yourself thoroughly acquainted with all of them, and see that they are strictly and accurately enforced. I depend solely upon you for this, always remaining

"Your affectionate

"CHARLES, DUKE OF BRUNSWICK.

"Brunswick, January 20, 1776.

"To Colonel Von Riedesel at Wulfenbüttel."

Before the march there was granted to the officers two months' extra pay for their equipment.

The form of the oath as prescribed in the treaty was as follows:

"You hereby promise and make oath to God upon his holy word, that, in consequence of a subsidiary treaty made between the most excellent, high and mighty prince and lord, George III, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, of the first part, and his excellency, the prince and lord, Charles, by the grace of God, duke of Brunswick Lüneburg, of the second part, you will give this [the amount of money here inserted] to his highness, the royal majesty, in service from this day. You farther promise, on all occasions, to obey orders as it becomes and behooves brave and honest soldiers, with the exception of those obligations, whereby you are already bound to the service of his highness the duke, our most gracious Lord—in everything faithful and without deceit. So help you God."

These treaties were made with the utmost haste; for England had no time to lose if she would quell the rapidly growing rebellion in her colonies. And, indeed, with all the expedition that could be made, and under the most favorable circumstances, six months must elapse before she could land her troops on the American coast. In the garrison cities of Brunswick unusual activity now prevailed—so many preparations had to be made for the long journey.

Amid, however, the thousand and one details of business demanded by the service, Riedesel was mindful both of his own future and that of those who belonged to him by the ties of kindred. In a will which he made, he gave directions in relation to the disposition of his property and the welfare of his family in case of his death. Previous to this, he asked the consent of Frederick II to dispose of his property in Camin; a permission which was granted by the king on the condition that with the sum realized by the sale of that estate, land should be purchased within the boundary of the Prussian dominions.

The soldier, in any war exposed to numerous dangers, ran a

much greater risk in a campaign like this, where so much depended on a long and tedious voyage; for should the voyage be successfully made, other and hitherto unknown hardships and dangers awaited the warrior who, set down in a distant part of the globe, was obliged to participate in a war which was conducted on very different principles from those of Europe. America, much less known in those days than at present, was called, throughout a large portion of Germany, the "land of adventures and wonders." Stories, bordering on the fabulous, were told about it. There, the war could be carried into vast deserts. There, the wild men often invaded the lands of the colonists; and horrible stories were told about the love of the Indians for scalps. Malignant fevers, from time to time, thinned the European population who were themselves in a semi-civilized state. Notwithstanding these reports, however, the Brunswick soldiers were in high spirits and cried, "Now for America!" There were many Germans, they knew, in America, fighting on the side of the colonies against the English; and if they could endure hardships, why should they not also?

The Brunswick corps that was destined for America, consisted of the following troops: 1st. A regiment of (dismounted) dragoons, under Lieut. Col. Baum. 2d. Prince Frederick's regiment of infantry, under Lieut. Col. Praetorius. 3d. Rhet's regiment of infantry, under Lieut. Col. Van Ehrenkrook. 4th. Riedesel's former regiment of infantry under Lieut. Col. Von Specht. 5th. Battalion of grenadiers, under Lieut. Col. Breymann. 6th. Rifle battalion (yägers), under Lieut. Col. Barner.

Although the troops were ready for the march on the 15th of February, as agreed upon in the treaty, they did not move until the 22d. This was owing to the fact that the vessels, upon which they were to embark, were not yet in readiness.

There were busy times in Brunswick on that day, every one being desirous of seeing the troops leave for the far off land. The crowd was still further increased by people who had flocked in from the neighboring villages and hamlets to witness the

strange sight and bid their friends farewell. The duke and the prince appeared on horseback on the *plaza* where the soldiers were collected. The former made the men a parting address; after which, to the sound of music and drums they marched by their beloved ruler — each battalion, saluting him with a tremendous hurrah! They had seen their sovereign and commander for the last time!

Colonel Riedesel bade his family adieu with a heavy heart. It seemed impossible for him to be separated from them for any length of time. He would gladly have taken them with him, but his wife was expecting to be confined within two weeks. He accordingly made an agreement with her that as soon as she was convalescent she should follow him. This, the loving and resolute woman promised him with a joyful heart. We cannot omit giving in this connection a letter of the Duke Charles which bears witness both to the excellent heart of that prince and to the confidence that he placed in Riedesel's devotion and capacity. It is as follows:

"My dear Colonel Riedesel: I have received your report of this day in which you announce that everything is in readiness for to-morrow's march. Gratefully acknowledging your faithful services, and your well meaning sentiments towards me, I do not in the least doubt that you will acquit yourself with your command to my entire satisfaction. You may rest assured that if — in an unhoped for case — it is the will of Heaven that you should fall, your wife and children shall be cared for as far as possible. I hope and pray that you may return well and sound, even should you not meet me again. In the meantime I expect to see you on the morrow in order to wish you in person all possible good fortune. "I remain ever,

"Your affectionate

"CHARLES,

"Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg.

"Brunswick, February 14, 1776.

"To Colonel Riedesel."

The first halt over night that was made on that day was at Leifert and vicinity. Riedesel's heart was deeply affected by the last powerful impressions made on it by the parting from his own and the beloved family of the duke, and his many friends and acquaintances. How much passionate feeling was carried in his heart the last few days, the following letter to his wife will bear witness:

"LEIFERT, *Feb.* 22, 1776.

"Dearest Wife: Never have I suffered more than upon my departure this morning. My heart was broken; and could I have gone back who knows what I might have done. But, my darling, God has placed me in my present calling, and I must follow it. Duty and honor force me to this decision, and we must be comforted by this reflection and not murmur. Indeed, my chief solicitude arises from the state of your own health, in view of your approaching confinement. The care of our dear daughters, also, gives me anxiety. Guard most preciously the dear ones. I love them most fondly.

"I am thus far on my journey without accident and in good health, although very tired in consequence of my anxiety of mind the past few days. I am hoping, however, for a refreshing sleep, and trust that you may be blessed in a similar manner.

"I have this evening been raised to the rank of major-general. Therefore, my own Mrs. General, take good care of your health, in order that you may follow me as quickly as possible after your happy delivery."

The document, written by the duke on the 20th of January, and given to Riedesel with the injunction not to open it until the first halt over night, contained his appointment as major general.

On the night of the 23d the army camped at Giffhorn; and on the 24th at Haukenbüttel, whence Riedesel wrote to Duke Ferdinand as follows:

"Monseigneur: I am not able to express the joy which I felt when, the day previous to our march, I defiled with the regiments in the presence of your excellency, and had the honor of bidding you, in the presence of the troops, a last farewell. Yet this last homage cost me great self-control, having all I could do to conceal my sorrow and trouble. Will your excellency allow me to express my humblest thanks for the great honor and distinction you have had the kindness to extend to us. Our march has progressed better than I expected. We have not had a single desertion; every one is content; and I have not thus far had a single difficulty to adjust. Malordie is satisfied with us, and I have every reason to be equally so with him, and also, with the arrangements which have been made for the support of the troops.

"We shall camp on the 5th in the vicinity of Stade, where I hope we will pass muster before Colonel Faucit, and be taken on board the ships as soon as they arrive.

"May your excellency in the future grant me your high favor.

"RIEDESEL.

"Haukenbüttel, Feb. 25, 1776."

Riedesel, accompanied by his personal staff and a portion of the troops, arrived at Haukenbüttel on the 24th, the rest of the troops being cantoned in the neighboring villages. This was kept by the whole army as a day of rest. On the 25th the march was resumed, the general head quarters being that day at Briefstädt. Here Riedesel inspected his regiment of dragoons, which was encamped on an estate in the vicinity, belonging to a Lord Von Grote. On the 27th, head quarters were at Ebsdorf, and on the 28th at Amelingshausen, where General Riedesel inspected his regiment of infantry, returning to his quarters at eleven o'clock at night. The 1st of March was also a day of rest. On the 2d, the troops marched to Tamelslohn and its surrounding villages, and on the 3d, to Harburg. On the 4th, head quarters were at Vortchade, and on the 5th, the army rested during the whole day at that village. On the 6th

the Brunswick troops arrived at Stade, and were quartered in that town and vicinity. The marches were short, lasting each day from four to six hours. An exception to this, however, was on the 23d of February (the day previous to the day of rest), when the march from Giffhorn to Haukenbüttel lasted seven hours. Colonel Von Estorf, at that time, acted as quarter master general. The rest we learn from the following letter written by Riedesel, on the 19th of March, to Duke Ferdinand:

"ON THE ELBE, ON BOARD THE PALLAS,
"*March* 19, 1776.

"Monseigneur: I take the liberty of sending you a short report of that which has occurred during the march of the four battalions of troops that left Wulfenbüttel on the 21st of February.

"The following list will show your excellency at what places we encamped before arriving at Stade. We have finished our march without desertion, and without the least complaint either from the inhabitants or the men; and, what is the most remarkable feature in the whole of it is, that a large number of those who were very much fatigued held out to the end.

"Colonel Faucit, on the 7th of March, reviewed the dragoons and the battalion of grenadiers. With the former he was very much pleased, but found some fault with the latter in regard to their height. Some of these, also, he thought too old; but in the main he was satisfied. On the 8th he reviewed a regiment of infantry at Horneburg, and also Prince Frederick's regiment at Vortstade. He seemed more pleased with these regiments than with the grenadiers, especially the former. We dined at Vortstade, and in the evening returned to Stade. On the 9th he began drilling the recruits, and continued it until the 12th. On that day, which was Tuesday, the ships, to the number of seven, arrived; and, on the 13th the regiment of dragoons embarked in the greatest order and tranquillity. In two hours all was over. Colonel Faucit said that he had never witnessed an embarkation of troops which was so quiet and orderly. Not

a single man was intoxicated. Colonel Faucit counted all the men once more; and, although this was contrary to the agreement, I consented, having a clear conscience.

"On the 14th the two regiments of Riedesel and Prince Frederick were quartered at Stade; and on the 15th four companies of my regiment were put on board of three vessels. The 16th I spent in visiting all the ships to see that nothing was wanting. Six more ships are to arrive to-day. The five remaining companies of my regiment embarked on the 17th, as also did the entire regiment of Prince Frederick. The same order and quiet was maintained which was observed during the two previous embarkations. The 18th saw all our horses safely on board. I gave all the necessary lists to Colonel Faucit. We dined together; and after dinner I went on board my ship the Pallas, whence I have the honor of writing this to your excellency. This evening we start for Freyburg, and thence to Glückstadt, where we shall wait for favoring winds in order to leave the Elbe.

"I am unable sufficiently to describe the contentment of our soldiers. Every one is joyful and in good spirits. I leave it to my brother to give your excellency in person a more detailed account.

"Monseigneur: Yes, I dare to say my most, most gracious and dear protector, this is the last letter I shall write you from Germany, and soon even from Europe. I therefore venture to beg of your excellency a favor, which to me is of great moment. It is this — that you will not forget me, but preserve to me your kindness and love. As far as in me lies I will do all to deserve them.

"I remain, etc.,

"RIEDESEL."

Up to the time of embarking, Riedesel had sent reports daily to the reigning duke. He had, also, each day written to his wife. On the 21st he sent her a journal which he had kept

up to this time. In it he describes his present mode of living on board of the ship as follows:

"On Board the Pallas, *March* 21, 1776.

"Here we are still quietly lying before Stade, in consequence of contrary winds; we must therefore have patience. Nevertheless we shall to-day noon proceed to Friburg, which is not far from Glückstadt, where we shall wait for more favorable winds to carry us out to sea, and across to England. Meanwhile we are quite content. Your presence only is necessary to complete my happiness, for I confess that I have the greatest longing to see you once more.

"For your amusement, and that you may see how we pass away our time, I, herewith, send my journal.

"First then, we have a state-room almost as large as your sitting-room. Upon both sides are two small cabins, in one of which is my bed, and in the other that of Captain Foy. In the state-room itself, on both sides are fixed four beds, in which sleep Captains Hensch, Gerlach, and Cleve, and the captain of the horse, Fricke. The cashier, the keeper of the military-chest, and the secretary, are in that part of the ship reserved for the soldiers, a private state-room having been put up especially for them.

"I rise about seven o'clock in the morning, after having said my prayers in bed. We dress ourselves quickly, and breakfast after the English fashion upon tea and bread and butter. Then I go upon deck to smoke my pipe. After that I write or read, drink my coffee, walk up and down with both the Englishmen, and with one or two pipes more pass away my time until two o'clock when we have dinner. We have nine persons at table, have three dishes, and eat nearly an hour. Then the table cloth is taken off, and we spend nearly half or three-quarters of an hour drinking different healths as follows: First, the king; second, the duke; third, yours and the children; fourth, Captain Foy's wife; fifth, a good sea voyage; and sixth, a successful

expedition in America. At four o'clock, all is finished. Four bottles of wine are consumed daily, together with half a bottle of arrack [1] for punch. Afterwards I drink coffee with the Englishmen. The remaining gentlemen provide for themselves. After coffee I visit the other vessels; and in the evening play a rubber of whist. At half-past eight cold meat is brought on — also wine for whoever will drink, and beer — and at ten o'clock all of us go to bed, and in this manner one day after another passes by.

"Captain Foy goes from Dover to London to report himself to the king, and will rejoin me at Portsmouth. Upon his arrival there, I shall be transferred to a man-of-war, where everything will be more agreeably arranged for my comfort.

"General Gage returned from America in this ship, at which time it had eight small state-rooms, an apartment for the general, and a dining-room; all of which will be again fitted up. But of all this you shall hear in detail from me at Portsmouth, as also of the condition of things in America, and of the safest and quickest way for us again to see each other."

On the 22d the reigning duke writes, himself, to General Riedesel, as follows:

"I have with joy seen in the report of the major general that the march has progressed well. May God also in the future give it his blessing. The answer to your question is here inclosed. I refer to the letter of G. R. de Ferronce to the major general. I herewith send you, also, a list of the staff officers of the corps now on the march; thoseof the first division left on the 29th of February. To-day, the 21st of March, the two divisions take their departure.

"I have received nothing as yet from Mrs. Major General; and I have accordingly sent an express to Wulfenbüttel, who has not, however, returned. I hope the news may be good. I shall soon

[1] I. e., a spirituous liquor distilled from rice.

send it to you. But I did not wish to delay longer sending off this letter. I have received the report of your brother. Wishing you and all the other officers success,

"I remain, etc.,

"CHARLES,

"Duke of Brunswick Lüneburg."

Lieutenant Colonel Riedesel, who remained in Brunswick, had accompanied his brother as far as Stade, where he remained until after the embarkation. This explains the reference to him in the two letters just quoted.

On leaving Stade, the English Captain Foy took the command. Additional details are given in the following letter written by the general to his wife, the 26th of March, from on board the Pallas:

"ON BOARD THE PALLAS, opposite
Dover, *March* 26, 1776.

"I write you the instant we come in sight of the English coast. Captain Foy, who goes to London, will post this letter from that city. I mention to you with satisfaction that I have not been unwell a moment; still less have I been sea-sick; but, on the contrary, have had a good appetite and good sleep the whole time. The soldiers, however, and also my servants, have mostly all been sick and yet remain so. The poor cook is so bad that he cannot do the least work, indeed, he cannot even raise his head. This is very inconvenient, since Captain Foy and myself are obliged to attend to the cooking, which would amuse you could you see us.

"I will now give you a brief account of our voyage. Thursday, we sailed from Stade to Fryburg. It was a magnificent spectacle to see the beautiful villages upon both banks of the stream. Glückstadt, a fine Danish fortress, we left upon our right. We were in fine spirits, ate and drank heartily, and played whist in the evening.

"Friday, we made sail for Ritzebüttel or Cashaven, where we hove to at evening in order to land and see the city, and play a rubber of whist.

"Saturday we went to sea with a very gentle wind. We, however, hardly believed that we were at sea. We were all well and eat with great appetite. From the Red Ton, where the Hanoverian pilots left us, I wrote you my last letter. In the afternoon, fishermen from Helgoland came on board, and I bought, for two thalers,[1] a large codfish, twenty haddocks, and four flounders, which I could not have obtained in Brunswick for ten thalers. Rainy weather now came on.

"Sunday morning we had a heavy fog, and the sea became boisterous. Two guns were fired from our ship to indicate to the other vessels the route for them to take. The fog now lifted, the wind and the waves rose, but still there was no storm. Now all were sick. The cook could not cook. Müller could not dress me. Valentine could find nothing. To sum up, great lamentation and great blundering arose on all sides. Hungry, I had nothing to eat. Finally, Captain Foy and myself cooked a pea soup in the sailor's kitchen, and eat cold roast beef, which made up our whole dinner. The soldiers eat nothing.

"Monday the weather was somewhat milder, and some of the people became better, though most of them remained sick. Captain Foy and I once more cooked a portable bouillon soup, a cod with anchovy sauce, a ragout from roast beef, and a piece of roast veal with potatoes.

"Tuesday we had the most beautiful weather in the world, and a few of the people became again well. The soldiers cooked for themselves, but the cook still could do nothing. Foy and myself, therefore, again did the cooking. We had rice soup, yellow turnips with beef, codfish with anchovy sauce, and a ragout of veal. From a distance one could see land.

---

[1] A thaler is seventy-five cents in American money.

"To-day, Wednesday, we are opposite Dover. Captain Foy goes from us and takes this letter with him. Dearest angel, remember that every one may be sick upon the water; consequently, you will have very little help from your servants. You must, therefore, choose the shortest route to England. I think the best one will be by way of Calais.

"Captain Foy says that if Quebec is still ours, and there is no American army this side of Montreal, not only he, but General Carleton, also, will have his wife join him. You must positively not set out on your journey before they do — then you can accompany them and travel with more safety, as you will have company and attendance, and want for nothing."

On the 28th the flotilla arrived at Spithead. Riedesel went into the city to pay his respects to Admiral Douglas and some generals, by whom he was received with great courtesy. A guard was stationed in front of his quarters, and the captains of the men-of-war waited upon him. The king, also, hearing that the German general and his staff had very little room on their ship gave orders to have their quarters arranged more comfortably. In consequence of this order, Riedesel was obliged to go on shore the following day and take lodgings while the alterations in the interior of the ship, which was to convey him to America, were making. Thirty ship carpenters were at once set to work in the ship; and with such good effect, that in a very short time its cabins wore an entirely different look and were furnished as comfortably as possible.

On the 29th the general dined with Admiral Douglas; and on the 30th the latter took him all over the harbor and showed him the entire fleet of men-of-war. The commander of the admiral's ship of ninety guns gave him a magnificent *dejeuner*. In return, Riedesel invited all the captains of the men-of-war who had called upon him to dinner at his hotel. On the 31st he dined with the commissary general of the docks, Lord de Gambier. He also visited all the ships which had his troops on board. The same day the regiment of Hanau, under Colonel

Von Gall, arrived in the harbor. Riedesel calls them "a beautiful troop."

On the 1st of April, Admiral Douglas gave a dinner to the German general on board of the admiral's ship. When he made his appearance the men-of-war saluted him in the following manner: the men were ordered on deck and presented arms, and the drummers beat a march. On the 2d, Riedesel visited his transport ships. On the same day, Admiral Douglas gave a dinner to Generals Burgoyne and Phillips who intended to accompany him to America. Riedesel was also invited to it. On the 3d, the captains of the different men-of-war gave a dinner to Riedesel. On the 4th, at eleven o'clock in the morning, the signal of departure was given. Admiral Douglas ordered Riedesel to be carried to his ship, the Pallas, in a sloop-of-war. General Burgoyne went on board the frigate Blonde, commanded by Captain Brunel; and the fleet, consisting of thirty sailing vessels, hoisted anchor.

Thus all the honors belonging to his rank were shown to the German general on English soil; and more than this, as we have seen by the many dinners and *dejeuners* which were given in his honor within so short a time.

During the voyage, the frigate Juno, under Captain Dalrimple, took the lead and formed the advance. Then came the sixteen ships having the Brunswickers, followed by four with the troops from Hanau, six with the English artillery, and two transports. The frigate Blonde, with thirty-six cannon, formed the rear. On the evening of the same day the fleet reached Plymouth, but only remained there long enough to take the six ships which had the 21st English regiment on board. It will thus be seen, that the fleet, upon leaving the coast of England, numbered thirty-six sailing vessels.

On board of General Riedesel's ship, beside himself, were the following persons: 1st. Captain Foy of the English artillery as commissary of the troops in Canada. 2d. Captain Heusch, commander of the transport ships. 3d. Captain Edmonston of the

guard, who was given to Riedesel as adjutant. 4th. Captain Gerlach of Brunswick in the capacity of quarter master general. 5th. The Brunswick Lieutenant Cleve, as adjutant. 6th. The field treasurer Gödecke. 7th. Captain of cavalry, Fricke, commander of Riedesel's squadron of the regiment of dragoons. 8th. Secretary Langmeier. 9th. Captain Bell, commander of the ship.

A comfortable cabin and bed-room had been provided for the general. Opposite, were similar accommodations for Captain Foy. Besides the state-room for the officers there were four smaller cabins for Edmonston, Heusch, Bell and Gödicke. The cabin for Riedesel's attendants was so large that twenty persons could easily dine in it. On the sides were five small rooms for the rest of the officers. It was not known at the time of leaving England whether or not Quebec would hold out until the arrival of these troops. In the former case, the Brunswick and Hessian troops were to be disembarked there; in the latter, another place for disembarking was designated on the Isle of Condé.

The voyage continued prosperous; the wind was generally favorable, the men were nicely provided for and not too closely packed; and the health of all was, on the whole, very good. The soldiers were, therefore, always joyful and in fine spirits.

On the morning of the 16th of May, the continent of America was for the first time visible. Bona Ventura and Cape Gaspé were before them. A general rejoicing arose on all the ships, the decks of which were alive with soldiers, gazing with strange feelings upon the new world. The weather, however, was unfortunately cold and rainy, and prevented those on board from seeing clearly at a distance. The sea, also, was high and the wind changeable. On the morning of the 17th, the coast of Anticosti came in sight, with its mountains still covered with snow. This is an island belonging to Newfoundland. At the present day it contains over five thousand inhabitants; but at that time there was only a small colony on the western side. On the 20th, Grand point was visible. It had snowed the

night previous, and the ground was now frozen hard. On the 21st, the fleet fell in with a merchant vessel, and learned from it that Quebec was still in possession of the English, under the command of General Carleton. The English frigate Niger was met a few hours after, sailing from Quebec to Halifax, and having on board thirty-two cannons. Through her, additional news was obtained in relation to events in and around Quebec during the winter. The English General Carleton had already dispatched a frigate to England with news, which, however, had not fallen in with the fleet. In the afternoon the flotilla entered the bay of St. Lawrence. On the 22d, the vessels, owing to an unfavorable wind, were obliged to tack the entire day. On the 23d, an accident happened. Two English soldiers fell into the water and were drowned in sight of their companions, who were unable to save them. At six o'clock, on the evening of the 25th, the Isle Pic came in sight, and the ships cast anchor a short distance from it. Here they remained the whole of the following day, the weather being very stormy. The general employed the time in going on the uninhabited island of which he gives a short description.[1] Afterward he visited General Burgoyne on board the Blonde, just as the latter was about going on the Surprise in advance to Quebec. At midnight of the 27th the ships weighed anchor. They passed Green island early in the morning, and shortly after passed the first settlement on the stream. On the 28th, the fleet was obliged again to cast anchor near the Isle aux Coudres in order to take a pilot on board, as the navigation of the river was very dangerous on account of rocks. Owing to an unfavorable wind, the ships lay there all day. Here they learned that owing to reenforcements having arrived on the 6th of May, the Americans had retreated from the vicinity of Quebec, and fallen back upon Montreal, closely pursued by General Carleton.

---

[1] For this description see appendix.

At six o'clock in the evening of the 1st of June, the fleet arrived safely, after a tedious voyage, at Quebec. General Carleton, who had only two days previously returned from his pursuit of the rebels, was again in that city. Riedesel immediately landed in order to report to him. Carleton received him in a very friendly manner, and asked him to dinner on the following day. Of this general, Riedesel, in a letter to his wife, dated June 8, gives a peculiar picture. "In order," he writes, "to get an idea of his personal appearance, imagine the Abbot Jerusalem. The figure, face, walk and sound of his voice are just like the abbot's, and had he the black suit and wig, one could not discover the least difference." [1] While yet on board the Pallas, General Riedesel wrote out orders which were to regulate the conduct and discipline of his corps, and gave a copy to the commander of each battalion as soon as the troops were disembarked.

On the 2d, the general viewed the six hundred American prisoners whom Carleton had captured in his last chase. He then visited the commander of the fleet at that place, Commodore Douglas, by whom he was saluted on his departure with thirteen guns. The 3d, which was his birth-day, Riedesel passed on board of his own ship. On the 4th, the birth-day of the king of England was celebrated; on the morning of which day, the general, accompanied by all the officers of his corps, waited on the commanding general.

On the same day he received from General Carleton the command of a separate corps, a distinction which was entirely unexpected. This corps, which consisted of an English battalion, the Brunswick battalion of grenadiers, the regiment of Riedesel, one hundred and fifty Canadians and three hundred Indians, was to be stationed further up the river, between Quebec and Montreal. Accordingly it began its march on the 5th;

---

[1] The abbot here mentioned, was the tutor of the hereditary prince, Charles William Ferdinand.

but on this side of Lake Champlain not an enemy was to be seen. The regiment of dragoons were to remain at Quebec.

Riedesel had, during the whole of this time, kept up a constant correspondence with his home.[1] He received letters from the duke,[2] the Duke Ferdinand, and the hereditary prince. The latter, shortly after the departure of the Brunswick troops, had returned to his Prussian regiment at Hallerstadt. He was in the habit of attending the summer drill and the "fall manœuvres," at Potsdam, after which he would return to Brunswick and take part in the affairs of the administration. He took special interest in the troops in America, and therefore, wrote frequent and long letters to Riedesel.

It is not intended to give in this work a detailed and connected account of the distant war in North America — the space in these leaves is too small. Yet we cannot omit casting a glance over the scene as it appeared at the time when the above mentioned reenforcements arrived at Quebec.

The congress at Philadelphia had, on the 15th of June, 1775, appointed General Washington commander in chief of all the North American forces. A better choice could not have been made; for it was only through the talent for organizing and the other capabilities of this great man, that order and concert of action was finally infused into the hastily picked up mass.

It was determined by the British ministry that Boston should at once be attacked on the land side. In the fall of 1775 General Gage had surrendered the command of that city to General Howe, who, being unable to defend it, surrendered it, in March of the following year, to the Americans and retreated to Halifax.

Another American corps, under Montgomery, had invaded Canada the latter part of 1775, and captured several forts and

---

[1] For this correspondence, see *The Journals and Letters of Mrs. General Riedesel.*

[2] Charles, duke of Brunswick Lüneburg.

hamlets. After the American General Arnold had united his corps to the invading army, Montgomery made preparations for the capture of Quebec. This important place, however, was bravely and successfully defended by General Carleton; and in an abortive assault upon the citadel the general, commanding the Americans, met his death. The Americans immediately vacated Canada to a great extent; and this was the position of affairs when, in the summer, the reenforcements arrived.

The following plan of operations was now drawn up by the British. The Americans were to be attacked at three points, viz: Clinton was to invade the southern colonies: Burgoyne was to clear Canada of the rebels; and Howe, with the main army of thirty thousand men (including twelve thousand Hessians) was to occupy New York city, and thence form a junction with General Burgoyne at Albany. Clinton had started, in the beginning of June, for Charleston, where he was to be supported by English ships; but the American General Lee, manœuvred so adroitly that the British were repulsed and obliged to retreat to New York. General Burgoyne performed his part with more success; for he drove the Americans as far back as Lake Champlain where the enemy had an armed flotilla. Before, however, Burgoyne could unite with General Howe, as agreed upon, he would have to destroy this flotilla, and capture some forts. This necessitated the building of vessels. Howe, in the meantime, left Halifax and occupied Staten island.

The chief base of operations for those troops which were destined for Canada under Burgoyne (under whose command was also Riedesel) was the river St. Lawrence. This large river has its origin in Lake Ontario, and is, in fact, the outlet of that lake into the sea. It has a great depth of water, and runs in a northeasterly direction, until, when near Quebec, it forms a bay which, widening more and more as it approaches the ocean, is at its mouth twenty miles wide. Much, therefore, depended on the possession of the fortified places and forts on this stream and on its numerous islands, of which Montreal was the most import-

ant; and, accordingly, the English had built more or less strong forts along its entire length. Lake Champlain, with its outlet, was the base of operations between Montreal and New York. This lake, which is one hundred and seven miles long and three wide, extends from south to north, between Lake George and Lake St. Pierre, through the river Richelieu,[1] and flows into the latter, which, in fact, is nothing but an extension of the St. Lawrence. On the left shore of this river and this lake are various forts and fortified places. Fort Chambly, Fort St. John, Point aux Fer, Fort Ticonderoga, and on the right shore, near where the Chambly flows into the St. Lawrence, the city of Sorel. Towards the ocean are several islands, the largest of which are La Motte, Long island, and Grand isle. Let us now return to the operations of General Riedesel.

Sailing from Three Rivers with his troops, he landed at Bergère, and arrived on the 22d of June, at La Prairie. Thence he writes to Duke Ferdinand, as follows:

"LA PRAIRIE, *June* 22, 1776.

"Monseigneur: We are at this place masters of the whole province of Canada; and I feel confident that the good fortune, which has attended our troops thus far, will cause you to rejoice. If we had enough ships and sloops of war in which to cross Lake Champlain we would soon be in rear of the colonies. But as we are in need of the most necessary thing for crossing, and as all our vessels are yet to be built, this delay will lose us three weeks and materially impede our progress. At the same time, however, it will do much towards restoring the health of the troops, who, in consequence of hardships and poor fare, are much exhausted.

"We have left the ships without taking any of our luggage, as the teams required for transporting it were needed for other

---

[1] This river had various names. It was also called, the Sorel, Chambly, and St. John river.

purposes. We have marched about fourteen miles in three days; during the whole of which journey myself and the other officers were obliged to go on foot. This is the seventh day that I have worn the same shirt and stockings. At first it was disagreeable, but we stood it. All the officers manifest the very best spirit, and our troops are the strongest and have the fewest sick.

"I am very happy to be under the command of General Carleton. He manifests such a contempt for the rebels, that I feel sure that we shall soon attack and get the best of them.

"I commend myself, etc.,

"RIEDESEL."

When Riedesel arrived at La Prairie, the Americans were still in possession of Sorel; but hearing of his approach with a corps of four thousand men, they evacuated their important position. From this day forth, General Riedesel caused a careful journal of events to be kept by his Adjutant Cleve — a journal that was continued until the year 1779. Up to the time of landing at Quebec, he had kept it himself.

On the 22d of June, General Carleton gave orders that the baggage, which was still upon the transport ships, should be sent to the troops, and that the ships should return to England. The adjutant general of General Carleton, Major Maestre, being about to return to England, Riedesel sent those of his dispatches and letters that were destined for Europe, to Montreal.

The English troops, according to the orders of General Carleton, were to encamp in the following manner:

The brigade of General Fraser was to take the place of the garrison of St. John, and be so stationed, that the grenadiers would be nearest the ford; the 22d Regiment on the road to Chambly; and the light infantry on the road to La Prairie.

Gordon's brigade, with the exception of the 29th Regiment which remained in Montreal, was to encamp behind Fraser's light infantry on the same road as far as La Prairie. Back of the 29th, Risboth's brigade was placed; and behind them

again, the brigade of Gowell at Belleville. The artillery was to remain at St. Charles, a parsonage between Boucherville and Fort Chambly.

Riedesel's brigade was to encamp at La Prairie and the parsonage belonging to it. By this arrangement, it was thought that one corps would be able to support the other.

On the 24th, Riedesel and his staff witnessed at the head quarters in Montreal, a sight of peculiar interest. We will give it here *verbatim* as it is written down in his journal:

"General Riedesel, accompanied by all of his staff, went to-day to head quarters in Montreal, to be present at a meeting between General Carleton and all the nations of wild men, since, in order to make it as impressive as possible, all the chief officers of the army were expressly invited to attend. The chiefs of the so called Iroquois nation, namely: many of the Onantais, Anajutais, Nonlaguahuques, and Kanastoladi, met at six o'clock in the evening, in the old church of the Jesuits which had been expressly prepared for the occasion. The high choir was covered with carpets, upon which were placed a row of stools. In the centre was a large arm-chair for Governor General Carleton, who during the whole of the meeting kept his hat upon his head. Behind him was a table, near which sat the adjutant generals, Captains Foy and Carleton, who served as secretaries. There were also benches, upon which sat three hundred wild men, with their pipes lighted. Every nation had its chief and interpreter, the latter acting as spokesman and translating into French all that was said to General Carleton. In order, however, that there might be no mistakes or misunderstandings, General Carleton had, also, his interpreter. Thus each nation spoke for itself. The substance of what they said was, that they had heard the rebels had risen against the English nation; that they praised the valor of General Carleton as shown in frustrating the designs of the enemy; that they, therefore, loved and esteemed him, and that they had come to offer their services against the rebels. Those Indians of St. Louis, who lived nearest to the English settlements,

about four leagues from La Prairie, were blamed for hitherto remaining neutral, and not embracing the side of the English at the outbreak of the rebellion. They, however, laid the blame upon an old man, aged eighty, but who had very wisely stayed at home, and thus could not answer for himself. All these nations were, therefore, engaged for one year, and had their posts assigned them. Before leaving they all passed by General Carleton, shaking hands with him and the rest of the officers. The evening and night were spent by them in feasting and dancing, which had already lasted several days. They had brought with them a few scalps of rebels whom they had killed, and with which they honored Generals Carleton, Burgoyne and Phillips."

The troops were taken care of in the best manner not only in their quarters, but wherever it could be done. This was the case with the German, as well as the English soldiers. Each man received, besides bread and vegetables, one pound and a half of meat. The German troops received exactly the same monthly addition to their pay as the English. The following list will show the particulars:

Rank.	Pounds.	Shillings.	Pence.	Farthings.		Thalers.	Groschen.	Pfennige.
Colonel,	17	16	5	1	—	105	10	8
Lieutenant Colonel,	8	18	10	3	—	52	16	2
Major,	6	7	8	3½	—	37	18	11
Adjutant,	5		7	3	—	29	18	7
Chaplain and Auditor,	6	8	9	3½	—	38	2	7
Surgeon Major,	5	3		3	—	30	11	8
Camp Surgeon,	3	5	9	2¾	—	18	21	½
Hautboy Musician,	1	10		1	—	8	6	9
Captain,	12	15	3	3	—	75	12	8
Lieutenant,	5	19		3½	—	35	5	4¾
Ensign,	4	15	6	½	—	28	6	1
Sergeant,	1	17	2	2	—	9	22	5
Non-commissioned Officer,	1	10	9	3	—	8	4	5
Corporal,	1	4	5		—	6	9	2
Drummer,	1	1	8	1	—	4	19	11
Exempt,		19	5		—	4	12	
Private,								
Officer's Servant,		16	1	1	—	4	3	4

The leisure time while in camp was employed in drilling the recruits and those who had been sick a long time. These exercises lasted daily three hours, generally from five to eight in the morning. On the 26th, General Carleton transferred his head quarters to Chambly, on the river of the same name opposite Montreal. Generals Burgoyne and Phillips, also, accompanied him thither. For common vessels on the rivers they used canoes made of the bark of trees exactly similar to those of the wild men. They were very light, and, in the event of a march, could be taken out of the water and carried. This was often the case when there were rapids in the stream. On the 27th, Captain Gerlach, as quarter master general, was sent to St. John to inspect that fort and make a sketch of the surrounding country. A few days later he was appointed assistant commissary of the German troops, in which capacity he was obliged to see to their maintenance. The Americans had made dreadful havoc at St. John, and, before their departure, had entirely demolished two houses belonging to the English Lieutenant Colonel Christie. Major Carleton, a cousin of the commanding general, acted as quarter master general for the English troops.[1] On the 29th, Captain Gerlach was sent to Chambly for the purpose of inspecting that fort likewise. He found it not only in a better condition than those he had previously inspected, but its situation of much more importance. This fort lies in a northerly direction from Lake Champlain, on that part of the Chambly river where rapids greatly impede navigation. The water, running over rocks, is here but one foot and a half deep. Flat bottomed boats, built expressly for the purpose, are used for crossing this spot. This fort was, therefore, very appropriately called the key to Lake Champlain from the north. As no teams could be procured to transport the baggage to the troops from

[1] This was probably the Captain Carleton referred to a few pages back, as officiating as secretary at the Indian meeting.

Quebec, the ships were obliged to go as far up as Montreal, at which point magazines were built.

General Riedesel visited a tribe of Indians at their village on the 2d of July. We will here give an account of it as it is written down in the above named journal:

"We went to-day to the Indian village on the Saut St. Louis, called in their language Kagnohangue, situated four leagues from here. On our arrival we were met by the oldest of the tribe. They had turned out with flags and formed two lines between which we were obliged to pass. They saluted us with a discharge of a small cannon and fire arms. We inspected their church, which is presided over by a Jesuit, and in which everything is of silver. Their cabins are in a bad condition and full of filth. They raise nothing but corn, which they prepare in different ways for food. Their chief labor consists in raising cattle, in hunting and fishing. We met here an Indian,[1] who was born at Frankfort and still spoke German fluently. He came here with his father when a child of ten years. The father dying in battle, the boy grew up among the wild men, learned their language, adopted their dress, and, apparently, had no desire to return to Europe. Likewise, a Hollander, who had served in the French army, was made a prisoner in the previous war,[2] but having the good luck to be adopted by one of their families, saved his life; wherefore on account of gratitude he will not leave them.[3] We dined poorly at the house of an

[1] By adoption of course.

[2] The seven years' war.

[3] "The Iroquois were always reluctant to receive other tribes, or parts of tribes collectively, into the precincts of the LONG HOUSE. Yet they constantly practiced a system of adoptions, from which, though cruel and savage, they drew great advantages. Their prisoners of war, when they had burned and butchered as many of them as would serve to sate their own ire and that of their women, were divided, man by man, woman by woman, and child by child; adopted into different families and clans, and thus incorporated into the nation. It was by this means, and this alone, that they could offset the losses of their incessant wars. Early in the 18th century, and even long before, a vast proportion of their population consisted of adopted prisoners."—*Parkman's Jesuits in North America*, page lxvi of introduction.

English merchant who resides here; bought a few horses of them, which are very good, and returned in the evening. They gave us two guards of honor, who accompanied us everywhere, placing themselves in front of those houses into which our curiosity induced us to enter. The nations of wild men which, besides those already mentioned, make common cause with us against the rebels, are some nations of Iroquois, to whom also belong the one on the Saut St. Louis, the Abenakis of Becancourt, Hurons, Onawutais and Nepissings."

On the 5th of July, all those soldiers who were carpenters by trade, or knew how to work in wood, were sent to Chambly, Sorel, and St. John, to work on the vessels that were being constructed for the passage of Lake Champlain. These men received an extra shilling per day.

On the 6th of July, Riedesel went to Montreal to see the city. The Montreal of those days was of course very different from what it is now. The writer gives the following description of it:

"This city is somewhat handsomer than Quebec, and may contain, perhaps, sixteen hundred houses. Its wall is nothing more than an apology for a wall with loop-holes for cannon and fire arms; and what is called the citadel is only a log house in poor condition. These works were first begun in 1736. The whole island, including the city, belongs to the Seminary. This has eleven ordained priests beside a few other priests who are distributed among the nine parishes which are on the island. These were the first priests that got a foothold in this part of Canada. They came from the Seminary of St. Sulpice at Paris, and are to this day dependent upon it, having induced the king of France to grant them in 1646 this island. They have founded a very respectable college for the youth who were formerly taught by the Jesuits. Near this seminary is the best garden in all Canada. Most European plants are found here. The revenues of the seminary amount yearly to twenty thousand thalers.[1]

[1] About fifteen thousand dollars.

The few Jesuits who are in Montreal, and, indeed, throughout Canada, still own their possessions. The entire parish of La Prairie in this city, for instance, belongs to them.

"The Hospital or Hotel Dieu, in which are some members of the order of St. Augustine, is in a splendid condition. There is, also, a hospital for the army. There is, likewise, in the city a convent — La Communauté de Secours de la Congregation de Notre Dame — a general Hospital of the Sisters of Charity, and a Cloister of Recolets. Of the four churches, that of the Jesuits has ceased to exist."

Montreal was also the market place for the important fur trade with the Indians; whence the traders visited the Indian hunters in the interior, in order to exchange clothing, ammunition, ornaments, liquors, etc., for peltry.

On the 7th, the English frigate Tartar arrived at Quebec. She had brought, among other things, ten light vessels of the kind suitable for the transportation of the troops across Lake Champlain. General Carleton at this time sent his first adjutant, McLean, to England with dispatches. Availing himself of this opportunity, General Riedesel also sent his dispatches and letters to head quarters for transmission to Europe.

The vessels which were sent from Europe were so constructed that they could readily be taken to pieces and put together again. A vessel of this kind was capable of carrying three cannons. They were built in this manner so that if necessary they could be more easily transported on land.

The troops heard very little in their quarters in regard to the operations of the other armies; for the rumors, which were occasionally heard, were so extravagant that great caution was necessary in imparting them.

The rebellious Americans were generally called by the British *rebels;* for those of them, however, who were still found in Canada a different name was invented, viz: *Bostonians*, after the city of Boston. These Bostonians had still possession of the fort at Crown point, while the British and Germans were

encamped on the Chambly. A few Indians, who scouted as far as the American camp, reported that the Americans were about to retreat.

Respecting the official relations sustained by Riedesel to the other generals, he shall be allowed to speak for himself. In a letter written to Duke Ferdinand in the beginning of July, he says, among other things, "We have to overlook many things and cross many a little bridge that we may meet the expectations of our generals and not be embarrassed in this kind of warfare. My principle is, never to aggravate anything, and to obey the orders of the general. This is probably the reason that he still continues satisfied with me. * * * *

"The country and landscapes of Canada are beautiful. Its resources at present, however, cannot be depended on to sustain our entire army. A lack of vessels hinders us from crossing Lake Champlain, and therefore we cannot advance. Yet I believe that this war will soon be finished. We have not a word from the second division nor from General Howe."

One might very reasonably have believed that the war would soon be brought to a close. Indeed, had the reenforcements arrived in America but two months sooner, no one would have thought for a moment of the North American rebellion being a success. Washington was scarcely able to collect seven thousand men in the spring of 1776; and what could this mob have done against a well organized army? But that general knew well how to improve the opportunity, occasioned by this loss of time. The little discouraged band increased in a short time, to thirty thousand men — all animated with an ardent desire for a fight.[1] The English, at that time, had no idea of the strength of the hostile army.

By the middle of July, the number of the sick among the Brunswick troops had very much increased. On the 12th,

---

[1] The original, perhaps, would be best expressed by the slang expression "spoiling for a fight."

there were sixty-four in the hospital and one hundred and sixty in their quarters. The men suffered chiefly from a severe diarrhœa, consequent upon the sudden changes in temperature — the days being oppressively hot and the nights very cold.

Notwithstanding the activity displayed in building the boats, they progressed slowly. The troops, in the meanwhile, were idle, and saw the enemy's forces constantly increase. By the 15th of July, one hundred of these canoes were finished, but there still remained five hundred and forty-six to be built; nor, even if everything prospered, could these be completed in less than three weeks. There were at this time at Chambly four armed vessels, carrying eighteen to twenty cannon each; but what did they amount to when the Americans had seven such vessels on Lake Champlain? Neither could they pass the rapids. This difficulty, however, was got over by a resolution to transport them on land. This was considered a great idea! Accordingly, roads were especially made and leveled for this purpose; and tremendous rollers were laid across them, upon which were placed the ships. In this manner they were gradually rolled along.

In order to procure a larger and cheaper supply of provisions for the troops, General Riedesel ordered a market to be held at La Prairie; but, notwithstanding it was attended by sellers and the prices for each article set, everything was outrageously dear.

On the 18th, General Carleton gave another audience to various deputations of Indians. Riedesel, who witnessed this one, also, describes it as follows:

"The meeting was similar to the one already described. This time, however, the deputations were from the Outanais, Couderés and Saules — tribes living between and near Lakes Ontario and Erie. They numbered about one hundred and eighty, and were good looking and well built men. They offered their grandfather, the king of England, and their father, General

Carleton, their services against the Bostonians.[1] General Carleton received them in a particularly friendly manner, since they had come hither from a long distance, and had in times past aided the French. He did not, however, accept their services at this time, but requested them to keep in readiness until needed, and, in the meanwhile, protect the country from their side, since no other nation — no matter what their name — could stay the progress of their arms. He, also, particularly enjoined them not to acknowledge any other ruler but their grandfather, the king of Great Britain. He thanked them for the discipline they had observed on their march to Montreal, and promised to give each nation a few silver dollars, which, although not yet finished, they should surely have. He, therefore, advised them to leave a few of their chiefs to receive the money when it was ready. They answered General Carleton that they would accept the dollars, not as a present, but as a consideration which should make their promise to the English the more binding. In reply, General Carleton granted them still more liberty in trade, giving them the whole of Canada and Europe. He also promised to have some more roads built for their especial accommodation in trading. The present, which General Carleton received from them, consisted of several strings of corals. The Coudres requested at the same time that their former governor, Machina, should be reappointed. One of the leaders of this nation wore on this occasion the coat of General Braddock whom he had killed in the previous war; and his little son of nine years the vest belonging to it. They then asked for the second, or farewell meeting, which was granted for the following day."

The next day, accordingly, they held their second meeting. The general had wine distributed among them, in consequence of which they were very jovial and noisy. The calumet of peace went from mouth to mouth.

On the 20th, General Carleton went to Quebec in a canoe,

---

[1] See page 52, 3d line from foot.

expecting to remain there some time. Masons were sent to the Isle aux Noix to build a fort at that point. This little island is in the Chambly river a little to the north of St. John.

General Burgoyne took command of the army after the departure of Carleton. The first thing he did was to send a detachment, consisting of twelve English volunteers, and a party of Indians and Canadians, toward the enemy with orders not to stop till they had reached him.[1] The general wished to ascertain definitely, whether or not Crown point had been vacated by the Americans. Quarter master General Carleton — a nephew, and also a brother-in-law of the general — was called upon to lead the reconnoitring party.[2] But neither were the Americans inactive in reconnoitring. On the 25th, one of the American patrols was captured near La Prairie; and, according to his statement, the patrol to which he belonged consisted of one officer and five men. They had reached that place under the most aggravating circumstances, and by terrible round about roads. That their march was a long one, is evident from the fact that each man was provided with provisions for fourteen days.

On the same day, the 25th, the English Brigadier General Gordon, whose brigade was encamped near the German troops in the vicinity of La Prairie, was shot. He rode, on the 23d, alone to St. John, to visit General Fraser. The road was considered safe, for English troops were encamped along its entire length. While returning on the 25th, through some woods, and when but two and a half leagues distant from La Prairie, he was severely wounded in the right arm and shoulder by two balls from a concealed foe. He fell from his horse, and was afterward found by a soldier of the 21st Regiment. He was at once carried to Colonel Hamilton's at St. Jacob, and remained there until his death, which occurred soon after. This hap-

[1] A round about way of describing a scouting party.

[2] The writer speaks of him a few pages back as a cousin of General Carleton.

pened in the rear of the English troops. It was never known who killed him.

The detachment sent out by General Burgoyne encountered a party of the enemy somewhere near the Isle aux Noix; and, notwithstanding the latter's superiority in point of numbers, attacked them. The Americans lost in prisoners, one captain, two officers and thirty-three men. On the side of the British, one Indian was shot dead, and one Canadian severely wounded. The detachment returned on the 27th, and reported that the fort at Crown point was garrisoned by only five hundred men: a little while previous it had contained eighteen hundred.

On the 29th of July General Carleton made some alterations in the positions of the encamped troops. The 21st and 62d Regiments were sent to St. Therese, a place lying between Fort Chambly and Fort St. John. Two companies of the former were detached to the other side of the river opposite St. Therese; and three companies of the 34th Regiment were sent to St. Ours, St. Denis and St. Charles in order to put a stop to the robberies of the sailors. Two companies of the second brigade, under Powell, were detached to the west side of the river opposite Belleville to extend the chain of patrols to Chambly. The communication between these detached companies was kept up by boats.

On the 30th, another meeting was to have taken place with some Indian tribes, but it was postponed until the following day, as the delegates were so intoxicated that they could not stand. Riedesel was again present. On the 31st of July, General Burgoyne received a document from congress, the contents of which were decidedly cool. Among other things, it said that it was impossible for the English, who had an army of only sixty thousand men, to subjugate the colonies which contained three millions; and further, that the Americans were prepared effectually to oppose the British, and were only awaiting their arrival.

On the 1st of August, General Riedesel celebrated the birth-

day of his sovereign in a becoming manner. General Burgoyne, with some of his staff officers, was also present. On the 3d of August, General Gordon, who had died of his wounds, was buried at Montreal with full military honors — all the Brunswick officers attending the funeral.

Riedesel, in the meantime, had drilled his troops diligently, and had instructed them somewhat in the English method of fighting. He made the first attempt with his infantry regiment on the 6th of August. The manœuvre consisted in an attack in the woods with skirmishers in advance. This was done in order to surprise General Carleton upon his return from Quebec, when it was expected he would inspect the German troops.

The somewhat excitable General Burgoyne, enraged at the threatening document from congress, issued the following order:

"All commanders of regiments are requested to inform their officers, sub-officers and privates that no more letters will be accepted from rebels who have taken up arms against their king; and if any more delegates from this mob dare to approach our pickets, excepting as supplicants for mercy, they shall be at once arrested and imprisoned in order to be punished for their crime. All letters, even if directed to the commander in chief, shall be delivered unopened to the provost and burned by the hangman."

Notwithstanding, however, this rough and passionate order General Burgoyne afterward enjoined the troops — speaking in reference to the faithless conduct of the Americans as shown more particularly in the case of General Gordon and the exchange of prisoners — not to repay evil with evil. Among other things, he says, "The Englishman, always brave, will not forget that he is accustomed to act magnanimously and philanthropically. It behooves the troops of the king to spare the blood of his subjects; it behooves the king himself; and it is the duty of all his faithful subjects to obtain for the inhabitants of this country that noble liberty with which they were once blessed." General Burgoyne also ordered that all Ame-

rican prisoners should be furnished with clothing and provisions until it should please the governor to give them their liberty.

On the 9th, the Brunswick troops were transferred to Isle aux Noix, the defenses of which were still incomplete. In the meantime, an artillery train was sent to Lake Champlain. This consisted of eight twenty-four-pounders, six long, and six medium eighteen-pounders, and six long, and twelve medium twelve-pounders, besides other guns.

From Canada the British could operate against the southern colonies to greater advantage, as the people in that section were entirely loyal, and the neighboring tribes of Indians had not yet taken sides against the king. Before, however, giving a further account of the war, we may be allowed to give a description of the country and its inhabitants, which have remained under England until the present day.

Canada, now the most southern of the English possessions, was formerly one of the most northern. At the present day, it is bounded on the south and west by the United States, its boundaries being made by nature by the Canadian lakes, the St. Lawrence, and the Alleghany mountains. The Ottawa river, which runs from north to south-west, and, in the vicinity of Montreal, empties into the St. Lawrence, divides the country into Upper and Lower Canada. It is somewhat larger than Germany — containing twelve thousand square miles — and is, as a general thing, very thinly settled.

Lower Canada is chiefly inhabited by the descendants of the French; for, although first visited by the Spaniards, it was, in the sixteenth century taken possession of by the French. Captain Champlain founded Quebec in 1628, at which time a vice king ruled in Canada in place of his master. The French element is, to this day, in the majority, whence, the French names of districts, settlements, and rivers. In the year 1759, the English captured Quebec; and, at the peace of Versailles,

the whole of Canada was given up to England. The reason why the French population have always been so much in favor of the English is, because during the French reign, the officials who were sent over governed them as they pleased, enriched themselves, and oppressed the colonists. The English, on the contrary, treated the inhabitants in an opposite manner. They favored justice and commerce, and did not interfere with the customs and usages of the colonists. Thus it happened, that after the outbreak of the American revolution, when Generals Montgomery and Arnold endeavored to induce the Canadians to revolt, they remained loyal to the cause of the king.

The colonists of Canada, at the beginning of the war, were, one may say, in their infancy. The population was very sparse, and the settlements and towns were far apart from each other. There was, it is true, an abundance of meat, poultry and milk, but notwithstanding the splendid country, fruit and vegetables were scarce, for the reason that very little attention was paid to horticulture. Other necessaries, also, which a European was accustomed to — such as spirituous liquors — were very dear. Thus a bottle of common wine, for instance, cost one thaler in gold.

Riedesel describes life in Canada as very pleasant, and the inhabitants as extremely polite and agreeable. In a letter to his wife, he writes, that the farmers of northern Germany, under similar circumstances, would not be so obliging. While sojourning at La Prairie, he traveled over all the country in various directions and soon obtained a pretty accurate knowledge of the land and its inhabitants.

On the 13th of July the 24th English regiment was ordered from St. John to Isle aux Noix. At the same time a German detachment of two hundred men under Colonel Specht marched to the former place. General Riedesel accompanied it in order to see that it was properly quartered. From St. John he crossed over to Isle aux Noix to view that island. He describes it as being about four hundred paces in circumference and fully capable

of defending the passage of the river. The entire island was fortified. He thinks it healthier than St. John.

Before the arrival of the 24th Regiment and the German light troops, General Fraser had, in his brigade, five companies of grenadiers and five companies of light infantry.

During the summer the English had cut a road from Fort St. John to Chambly which greatly facilitated the communication between those two points. Riedesel took this road when he went to confer upon various matters with General Burgoyne. Thence he journeyed on to Quebec both to make General Carleton a visit, and to inspect those of the German regiments that were quartered in that place. Riedesel made this journey of forty-three German miles in twenty-seven hours. He failed, however, to see General Carleton; for the latter had already gone to Chambly, by way of Sorel, to fix the quarters of the late General Gordon's brigade. Riedesel, accordingly, returned to La Prairie on the 27th of August. He was considerably out of humor, having heard nothing of the second division, and not having found the regiments, generally, in as good trim as he expected. He was also especially dissatisfied with Prince Frederick's regiment commanded by Lieut. Col. Praetorius. Those of the German troops whom the general had drilled were now obliged to learn how to row boats, preparatory to the passage of Lake Champlain. Accordingly, each brigade had a number of boats assigned them which they were obliged to row at certain times each day.

On the 29th of July, there was a rumor that the second division had arrived at Quebec after an auspicious voyage. The rumor, however, was only partially confirmed, as only one ship arrived having on board the Hessia Hanau artillery. Respecting it, Riedesel writes to Duke Ferdinand as follows:

"Our second division, together with a battalion of Waldeck have at last arrived at Lundy, after passing Quebec. I shall go there next Wednesday in order to unite them with the main army. General Carleton has placed all the German troops under my

command; thus upon our second expedition I shall command nine battalions divided into three brigades, viz: the first, under Colonel Specht; the second, under Colonel Gall of Hanau; and the third under the colonel who commanded the battalion of Waldeck. If, however, this latter regiment has only a lieutenant colonel then the third division will be under Colonel Breymann."

These brigades, in fact, formed the left wing of the army. Respecting it, Riedesel writes to General Carleton as follows:

"LA PRAIRIE, *Sept.* 31, 1776.

"My Lord: The honor which your excellency has bestowed upon me, in giving me the command and supervision of the left wing of the army, induces me to express to you my humble opinion in regard to the distribution of the German troops into brigades as soon as they have all been brought together. By pursuing the course which I propose, each brigade will see not only that it is to be well led, but that a good officer has been given them. Ever since the year 1767 that officer has never been of a less rank than a lieutenant colonel — a rule which has always secured them one of the oldest staff officers of the army.

"I wish your excellency would kindly allow Prince Frederick's regiment to rejoin the army. Its place in the garrison at Quebec could be quickly replaced by drawing detachments from the different regiments composed of those recruits and invalids that are too young or feeble to stand the hardships of a campaign. In case these should be used for garrison duty, it only depends on your excellency to have formed at once three brigades of the German troops — who are sufficient in number for the purpose — in accordance with the plan which I have here the honor to inclose. The third brigade might also be used on the left wing, either as the advance, or in any manner which your excellency thinks best — perhaps, in the same way as the brigade of General Fraser is employed on the right wing. This

would greatly encourage Lieutenant Colonel Breymann, who now feels slighted at having been passed over in favor of younger lieutenant colonels. I will be responsible for his courage and military knowledge; with his deportment I feel assured that your excellency will be satisfied.

"For my own part, I have no other motive in making this request, but to maintain the good feeling between the troops of his majesty and ours who are in his pay; to satisfy all just demands; and to reap the approbation of your excellency, which is, and will be my only aim.

"I remain,

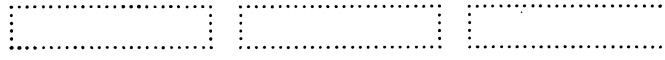
"Your Excellency's Obedient Servant,

"RIEDESEL."

The following plan accompanied this letter:

BRIGADIER GENERAL SPECHT.

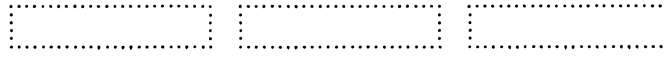
First Line.



Regiment of Rhetz, four companies, commanded by Lieut. Col. Ehrenkrook.	Regiment of Specht, four companies, commanded by Major Lack.	Regiment of Riedesel, four companies, commanded by Lieut. Col. Specht.

BRIGADIER GENERAL VON GALL.

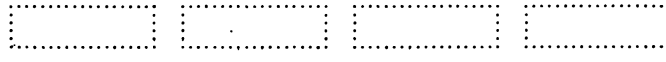
First Line.



Prince Frederick's regiment, four companies, commanded by Lieut. Col. Praetorius.	All the four companies of the four regiments of Brunswick, commanded by Major Hille.	Four companies of Hessia Hanau, commanded by Lieut. Col. Leutz.

BREYMANN'S BRIGADE.

Second Line.



The company of Brunswick yägers.	Brunswick light infantry, commanded by Lieut. Col. Barner.	Three companies of Brunswick grenadiers, commanded by Major Mengen.	1st Co., Hessia Hanau, 1st Co., Brunswick grenadiers, 5th Co. of the regiment Hessia Hanau, commanded by Major Lorke.

That which is here called a regiment was often only a battalion, for a regiment that had but three companies was not divided into battalions. Riedesel, in his letters, sometimes calls such bodies of men, a battalion.

On the 30th, the Hessia Hanau Colonel Von Gall was made a brigadier general by General Carleton, and Major Carleton, lieutenant colonel of the 24th Regiment. On the 3d of September, Generals Carleton, Burgoyne and Phillips, with their respective suits, met at La Prairie for the purpose of inspecting the proficiency of the German troops in the drill. The battalion of grenadiers, under Breymann, began at half-past ten o'clock. It drilled with closed ranks, and received the approbation of the English generals. At three o'clock in the afternoon the generals reviewed three hundred men of the regiment Riedesel. We have already mentioned that Riedesel had drilled this detachment in an extended line for the purpose of surprising the generals. This manœuvre, representing an attack in the woods, was, accordingly, perfectly carried out. In order to give our readers an idea of what was, in those days, called the practice of sharp shooting, we will here copy *verbatim* an extract from Riedesel's journal:

"As soon as the first line has jumped into the supposed ditch, the command 'fire' is given, when the first line fires, reloads its guns, gets up out of the ditch, and hides behind a tree, rock, shrub or whatever is at hand, at the same time firing off four cartridges in such a manner that the line is kept as straight as possible. As soon as the first line has fired off the four cartridges, the second line advances and fires off the same number in the same manner. While this is taking place, the woods have been thoroughly ransacked by the sharp shooters who have thus become familiar with every part of it."

With all this manœuvring the English generals were perfectly satisfied; and in the afternoon they rode back to La Prairie and dined with the German general.[1]

---

[1] In regard to this entertainment, Riedesel writes to his wife as follows: "On the

Riedesel had just left La Prairie on his way to inspect his second division, when a messenger from General Burgoyne brought him news that the Americans had made their appearance, with forty vessels, on the other side of the Isle aux Noix. At the same time he received a letter from General Phillips informing him that the rebels had occupied Point au Fer. Riedesel returned at once. The Americans had endeavored to cross the river above St. John and attack the troops composing the right wing; but vigorous measures being immediately adopted they relinquished their design. In consequence of this, the German troops were forced to change their position and encamp, on the 5th, near Savanna; a movement which brought them one-half the distance nearer Fort St. John. In accordance, therefore, with this arrangement the battalion of grenadiers encamped below St. John.

At last, on the 9th, preparations were made for crossing Lake Champlain. The necessary vessels had finally been completed, and the four men of war, which had been transported on rollers by land, had arrived. Although these latter had to be taken apart after being moved a few hundred yards in order to make them lighter, yet the undertaking was successful, and reflects credit upon the perseverance of the English.

On the 10th, Captain Carleton moved up the stream with four hundred Indians. The latter had their own canoes and constituted the advance. On the 11th the German brigade received orders to embark seventy-six men of each company. The remainder were to remain, for the present, in camp. The sick were to be taken back to Montreal together with the heavy baggage. The defense of this place was entrusted to the Scottish mountaineers and the emigrant regiment of McLean.

3d, after the inspection of our troops, I gave General Carleton and the German officers, a grand dinner, consisting of thirty-six covers and twenty-six dishes in two courses. I did it in honor of my sovereign and for the sake of his troops. It was a complete success; and I am on good terms with all."

The German regiments were distributed among the different vessels in the following manner:

	Officers.	Non-com. officers.	Privates.	Ships.
Battalion of Grenadiers,.....	10	39	328	23
Regiment Riedesel,.....	14	40	380	27
Regiment Hessia Hanau,.....	18	38	432	32
	42	117	1,140	82

On the 17th of September, the second division at last arrived at Quebec. Their transports had left England simultaneously with the vessel having on board the Hessia Hanau artillery; but the latter, soon becoming separated from the rest of the convoy, got the lead. It is somewhat singular that General Riedesel was for so long in the dark respecting the landing of his troops.

In reply to his request, that the two regiments stationed in Quebec might join him, General Carleton in part consented, by sending him the regiment of dragoons, but keeping Prince Frederick's for the present in Quebec.

On the 21st, the Brunswick Captain O'Donnell, who had come with the second division, and was to serve on Riedesel's staff as third adjutant, arrived at head quarters. He brought intelligence from Quebec that the second division had arrived on the 17th, in five transports, under the command of Colonel Specht, but that one of the ships, having on board three hundred and fifty men, had become separated from the rest of the fleet seven weeks since. During the passage nineteen men had died.

On the 27th, General Fraser received orders to advance with his brigade to the river Colle; it being intended that the first brigade should occupy the Isle aux Noix, while the German regiments should encamp near St. John. Accordingly, on the morning of the 27th, General Riedesel left his camp near La Savanna and occupied the one to which he had been ordered. On the same day, General Burgoyne changed his head quarters

from Chambly to St. John. On the 2d of October, the German brigade again broke up their camp and crossed to the Isle aux Noix. On the same day, one hundred and thirty boats were distributed among the different regiments. Each general received two covered for himself and suit. Each boat, moreover, was built to contain twenty men. On the 29th of September, General Burgoyne again changed his head quarters to the Isle aux Noix.

Notwithstanding this was the first time that the German troops had been on board such boats — which they had to row themselves — General Riedesel was much pleased with this first trial. He praises, especially, the quietness and order with which everything was done.

Captain Lanodiere, adjutant general to General Carleton, who had been sent out to reconnoitre, returned on the 3d of October, and announced that Point au Fer, together with the Isle la Motte, had been evacuated by the Americans. He also reported that, with the exception of a small gondola, he had seen nothing whatever of their ships. In fact, all that was known regarding the enemy's fleet on Lake Champlain was, that it consisted of four men-of-war. Respecting the number of smaller vessels, nothing definite was known. Captain Lanodiere pretended that he had seen smoke behind Grand island, but he was unable to say anything further, except that he supposed the rebels were hidden behind that island. General Carleton, upon this report, determined to reconnoitre himself. He, therefore, took two of the neatest war boats, the Lady Mary and the Carleton, besides gondolas and twenty-four armed vessels, and posted himself between the Isle la Motte and Point au Fer, at the mouth of the lake. The troops, meanwhile, remained in their positions. In regard to the second division, General Riedesel, with the consent of the commander in chief, gave on the 4th of October the following order:

"The regiment of dragoons and the light troops of Barner, will advance as far as St Therese, two hours' march below St. John;

they will send in their reports from there, and wait for further orders. Colonel Specht, with one regiment and a half, will advance to Chambly, and, after reporting, will also await further orders. The half of Colonel Specht's regiment which remains on board the ship Friesland, is to do garrison duty at Trois Rivieres until further orders. The two English regiments, which are at Chambly and St. Therese, are, as soon as the second Brunswick division has reached the neighborhood of Chambly, to march to St. John and join the two English regiments already there. As soon, also, as Lieutenant General Burgoyne leaves the Isle aux Noix with the first English brigade and advances with the German troops, the second English brigade will occupy the Isle aux Noix. The dragoons and the Brunswick light infantry will encamp near St. John; but Colonel Specht is to remain in the vicinity of Chambly. In case the rebels should offer resistance, requiring more troops, then the dragoons and light infantry will advance to the lake, and Colonel Specht will occupy the camp near St. John."

The position of the army on that day was as follows: Captain Carleton, with four hundred Indians, and some Canadians, formed the first line at Point au Fer, being shortly after reenforced by one hundred volunteers under Captain Fraser. Fraser's brigade [1] with the English grenadiers, the light infantry and the 24th Regiment, were to the right, on the left bank of the River la Colle. Lieutenant General Burgoyne, with the first English brigade consisting of four regiments — the 9th, 21st, 31st, and 47th — the German brigade, consisting of the battalion of grenadiers, the regiment Riedesel and the regiment Hesse Hanau, was stationed on the Isle aux Noix. General Powell, with the 20th, 62d and a part of the 29th Regiment, was placed near St. John. General Phillips was also in that vicinity. The 59th Regiment was in the neighborhood of St. Therese, and the 34th near Chambly. The 29th Regiment was

[1] General Fraser, not Captain Fraser.

divided as follows: one company on board the ship, Lady Mary; one company on the Carleton; one company on the Inflexible; one company on the Radeau (floating battery); and one-half of a company on the gondolas. On the same day the Inflexible, carrying twenty twelve-pounders and ten smaller guns, sailed by the Isle aux Noix.

On the day following General Riedesel, in person, reconnoitred in the vicinity of Point au Fer, the Isle la Motte, and the mouth of Lake Champlain. Here he found General Carleton riding at anchor, and accordingly reported to him. The latter had ordered Captain Fraser, with a party of Indians, to advance to the furthest extremity of Point au Fer; and Captain Carleton, with another party of Indians, to march to the left on the right bank opposite Point au Fer. At the same time he dispatched four trustworthy officers in advance to discover the whereabouts of the enemy, and particularly to find out whether the canal between Long and Grand islands was in their possession.

On the 7th, another party was ordered out by General Carleton in a different direction. Captain Fraser, with his Indians and Canadians advanced as far as the Cumberland bay; Captain Carleton occupied Isle la Motte; General Fraser, with his brigade, encamped near Point au Fer; and General Burgoyne, with the first brigade, encamped near the River la Colle. General Riedesel, was ordered to remain at Isle aux Noix, until the second brigade, under Powell, arrived from St. John, when he, also, was to advance.

The Brunswick troops had plenty to do while on the island. Besides performing military duty in the fortifications as sentinels, etc., they were obliged, when off duty, to work on the fortifications, and to bring up provisions from St. John in small boats in order to replenish the magazines. Magazines and depots were established on the island that everything might be close at hand when the army crossed the lake. This, indeed, was the chief reason for so strongly fortifying the island. Besides the fortifications, block-houses and barracks were also erected.

On the 9th of October the 62d Regiment arrived on the island. The same day, one of the four officers, who had been sent out to reconnoitre, Captain Lanodiere, reported to General Carleton that he had sailed around Long and Grand islands, without discovering any traces of the enemy.

In consequence of this report, General Carleton advanced with all his war vessels with the object of finding and attacking any of the enemy that could be found. The names of the English war vessels at the disposal of General Carleton were: 1st, the Inflexible of twenty twelve-pounders and ten smaller guns. (This was the nicest vessel of the little fleet and was only finished on the 1st of October). 2d, the Lady Mary of fourteen guns; 3d, the Carleton of twelve guns; 4th, a gondola of twelve guns captured from the Americans; 5th, another vessel of twelve guns, also taken from the Americans; 6th, a floating battery of six twenty-four-pounders, and ten twelve-pounders called the Radeau; and 7th, ten gun boats, carrying three cannons each, which had just arrived from England. On the 10th, it was reported to General Carleton that the American fleet had been seen near Grand island. He, therefore, sailed the same afternoon as far as the two islands, and, in the evening, cast anchor between Long and Grand islands. Thence, the next morning, he sailed in the direction in which the enemy's ships were last seen. While passing to the left of the small island, La Valeur, the advance reported that a frigate of the enemy was sailing behind this island.

The Carleton, which was sent after the American frigate, was not able to overtake her, owing to contrary winds. Ten gun boats were, therefore, dispatched in pursuit of the frigate. They pursued her so closely that she was driven into the island La Valeur, where she stranded. In this chase, one of the English sloops, having on board the Hesse Hanau artillery, was sunk. Fortunately, however, all her crew were saved. After the stranding of this vessel, the Carleton, under Captain Dacres, sailed for the bay at the end of Grand island.

Here the entire fleet of the enemy was discovered; notwithstanding which, however, he steered directly for it, and cast anchor. Immediately a tremendous cannonade was opened on both sides. It was the design of the brave Dacres to prevent the enemy's fleet from escaping from the bay until the other ships should arrive; and in this he was successful. The Carleton, although very much damaged, stood it bravely till eight o'clock in the evening, when the English fleet came to the rescue. The latter immediately formed in line of battle in front of the bay, their left wing resting on the shore, and their right on the Isle la Valeur. At the same time, several vessels were sent to the right to cut off the escape of the enemy's ships through the passage formed by La Valeur and Grand islands. It being too late for a general attack, the ships cast anchor, every one feeling certain that the enemy could not give them the slip. But General Arnold quietly hoisted anchor during the night; and sailing round the left wing, aided by a favorable wind, the American fleet escaped safely under cover of the darkness. His escape, however, was greatly facilitated by the fact that every one was so confident of capturing him in the morning, scarcely any watch was kept during the night. The next morning, therefore, when the English were about to make the haul which they had considered so certain, they opened their eyes wide upon discovering that their prey had escaped. General Carleton was in a rage. He at once had the anchors weighed, and sailed off in pursuit. But in his haste and excitement he forgot to leave instructions for the army on the land, from whom, as a consequence, he became more and more separated. The wind, however, being adverse, and nothing having been seen of the enemy, he returned and cast anchor in the bay in which he had passed the previous night. Desiring, however, reliable news of the enemy's fleet, he sent out a scouting party who soon returned and reported that the Americans had anchored behind Idehay-Liers island. Carleton, therefore, remained stationary during the day; but

as soon as it was dark, he hoisted anchor, and, in spite of a contrary wind, sailed in the direction of the enemy.

On the morning of the 13th, he came up with the retreating fleet of the enemy near the island of Quatre Vents. At half-past eleven he was so near that cannonading was begun; and by twelve o'clock the Americans were cut off, half of their fleet escaping through a wide bend in the lake. Carleton pursued, and forced the crews of five of the ships to set fire to them and escape to the shore. He then renewed the chase after the other ten ships, and with such success that, having driven them down the rapids of Roche Fendü, he attacked them, captured one of the vessels, and burned another. The Americans, having saved only five of their ships, finally reached Ticonderoga. After this victorious engagement, Carleton cast anchor between Roche Fendü and Crown point in order to rest his tired troops. This engagement lasted from half-past eleven in the morning until eight in the evening; and it is remarkable that during the whole of the engagement not a single man on the side of the English was either wounded or killed; General Carleton, only, received a slight wound in the head from a splinter torn up by a ball. The number of Americans captured amounted to one hundred and ten men.

The Carleton, which stood her ground so bravely against the whole fleet of the enemy, had one officer killed, and twelve dead and wounded. The frigate, which stranded on the 11th, was the Royal Sauvage of sixteen guns. On board of her was General Arnold who had come that day from Crown point with money and provisions for the fleet. The English at first thought that all the men on board of her would be captured; but General Arnold managed to escape to the island Valeur. On the opposite side of this island there was another vessel, in which he and his men, with the greater part of the freight of the lost frigate, escaped.

In General Riedesel's journal we find the following list of the fleet:

GALIOTS.

NAME OF SHIPS.	GUNS.	FATE.
Royal Sauvage,	8 six-pounders, 4 four-pounders,	Stranded and burned by the English.
Revenge,	4 six-pounders, 6 four-pounders.	Escaped.
A Bateau,	10 four-pounders,	Escaped.

GALLEYS.

Congress,	2 eighteen-pounders, 2 twelve-pounders, 6 six-pounders,	Blown up.
Washington,	2 eighteen-pounders, 2 twelve-pounders, 6 six-pounders,	Taken.
Trumbull,	2 eighteen-pounders, 2 twelve-pounders, 6 six-pounders,	Escaped.
Lee (Sloop).	1 twelve-pounder, 1 nine-pounder, 4 six-pounders,	Was found a few days later in a bay, abandoned by the crew.

GONDOLAS.

Boston,	1 eighteen-pounder, 2 twelve-pounders,	Sunk.
Jersey,	1 eighteen-pounder, 2 twelve-pounders,	Taken.
Name unknown,	1 eighteen-pounder, 2 twelve-pounders,	Stranded.
Five other smaller craft,	5 eighteen-pounders, 10 twelve-pounders,	Burned by the rebels.
A captured ship,	8 guns,	Fate unknown.

Total, 16 vessels carrying 100 guns.

Of the Germans, Lieutenant Fay of the Hesse Hanau artillery distinguished himself on this occasion. He was in command of an armed sloop carrying a twelve-pounder; and although he was hard pressed by the enemy, and his vessel finally sunk, he yet fought so desperately as to succeed in saving his gun

and bringing it to the vessel of Captain Peush. Two of his men, however, were drowned, and he barely escaped a similar fate.

The courageous Captain Dacres, who had contributed so much toward the success of this engagement, had the honor of being sent to England to carry the tidings of this victory to the king.[1]

Immediately after this engagement, Riedesel left his quarters on Isle au Noix, and encamped near the river La Colle. A company of Brunswickers was sent at the same time still farther forward to a point northerly about half way between the river La Colle and Point au Fer. General Riedesel, soon after moving to his new location, went to Point au Fer to report to General Burgoyne and receive his further orders. Upon his arrival, he found the whole of the first brigade engaged in embarking. General Burgoyne had already left; his adjutant, Frank Clark, remained behind for the purpose of communicating Burgoyne's orders to Riedesel. These instructions were to the effect that the latter was to advance with his troops, to Point au Fer, leaving only those of his men who had not yet reached him. Meanwhile three hundred men, under a staff officer, were to continue in the neighborhood of La Colle. General Burgoyne, it seems, had received orders from Carleton, who had taken possession of Point au Fer, to advance at once with the first brigade and the brigade of General Fraser. General Carleton, desirous of hastening the transportation of the supplies for the magazines on Isle au Noix, gave orders that the regiment of Hesse Hanau should march back to La Colle, and the 20th and 62d English regiments to Isle au Noix. Lieutenant Colonel Breymann, who had been encamped at La Colle, rejoined the Brunswick troops upon the arrival of the Hessians.

---

[1] General Phillips related the above account of this engagement to Riedesel personally.

On the 18th, General Burgoyne returned from Crown point, bringing orders from General Carleton to have all the troops go into winter quarters. The general plan was as follows:

At Crown point — the corps of General Fraser.
" St. John — an English battalion.
" Montreal — The king's artillery and an English battalion.
" Quebec — Two English battalions.
" Isle au Noix — An English battalion.

The German troops were to winter on the Chambly river from Chambly to Sorel in the Trois Rivieres district, sending, however, detachments to Ricolet and Batiscau, and to the banks of the Masca and St. Francis rivers. The shores of the St. Lawrence, from Chateau Gage to Contrecoeur, together with the upper part of the island of Montreal and the parish of L'Assumption, were to be occupied by an English brigade, the Indian allies and the corps of Colonel McLean. The 34th English Regiment was sent to Quebec to take the place of the Brunswick regiment of Prince Frederick, which was sent to the other Brunswick troops. In regard to the winter quarters of the latter, General Riedesel issued the following order:

"Order of march into winter quarters for the German troops, as commanded by his excellency General Carleton.

"On the morning of the 21st, at 7 o'clock, the company of yägers, the battalion of grenadiers, and the regiment Riedesel are to leave Point au Fer and proceed to St. John in their bateaux, after depositing their provisions, which they had for six days, in the magazine at the former place. They are then to encamp on the same spot which was formerly occupied by the battalion of grenadiers. The regiment of Hesse Hanau, which is at present stationed at La Colle, are also to leave there on the morrow, and to select the best place for a camp at St. John. This regiment are also to deliver the provisions they have on hand, into the magazine at St. John. The company of yägers is to unite again with the battalion of light infantry

at St. John. Colonel Specht, with the half of his regiment and the regiment Von Rhetz, is to march on the 22d, from Chambly to St. Charles, taking as much provisions from the magazine at Chambly as he considers necessary for the march. Colonel Specht will continue his march, until he crosses the St. Lawrence near Sorel, as far as Three Rivers, at which point the other half of his regiment are to again unite with him. His regiment will then be sent into winter quarters, and occupy the parishes of Champlain and one-half of Batisca and St. Anne — the other half of these latter two parishes to be occupied by the regiment Von Rhetz. Proportionate detachments of these regiments are to be sent to the parishes on the other side of the river — that is, if there be any opposite to them in which the troops are quartered. These two regiments are to remain under the command of Colonel Specht during the winter. In order to give the commissary-general time to make the necessary arrangements for the provisioning of the troops, the regiments shall carry with them supplies for ten days. They shall, moreover, transport them together with their baggage, from Sorel to their respective quarters by water. This is done in order to save as far as possible transportation by land. On the 22d, the dragoon regiments of Riedesel, and the Hesse Hanau will march from St. John to Chambly and occupy the encampment just vacated by Colonel Specht. Before leaving Chambly they are to take sufficient provisions to last until they reach Sorel. On the 23d, the dragoon and Riedesel regiments are to march to St. Charles and thence to Three Rivers where they will go into winter quarters. Two squadrons of the regiment of dragoons and three companies of the regiment Riedesel will remain quartered in the city; the other two companies of the latter regiment being quartered at Point du Lac; and the two remaining squadrons of dragoons at La Madelaine. These latter troops, as soon as circumstances shall allow, are to follow the same orders in regard to their provisions and the transportation of them as have been given to the brigade of Colonel Specht. Major

General Riedesel will command these regiments himself. These, also, are to send detachments to the shore of the river opposite their encampment. On the 24th, the Hesse Hanau regiment will leave Chambly and make the same arrangements in regard to the transportation of provisions, etc. It is to cross the St. Lawrence near Sorel, and go into winter quarters in the parishes of St. Berthier and Musquinonquet. The detachments which this regiment shall send across the river, are to go to St. Francis and Sorel. The parishes of Riviere du Loup and Machiche are to be apportioned to Prince Frederick's regiment which is to march there from Quebec and be under the command of Brigadier General Von Gall. The Brunswick battalion of grenadiers is to remain at St. John until the regiment of Hesse Hanau has left Chambly; it shall then march to Chambly, and the day following to St. Charles, St. Denis and St. Tour, which latter place has been designated as their quarters for the winter. They are to take provisions at Sorel for ten days. The regiment of light infantry Von Barner will remain at St. John until further orders; their winter quarters being at Belleville and Chambly. This battalion is to draw its rations from the magazine at the latter place. An order has also been sent this day to Prince Frederick's regiment at Quebec to be in readiness to leave that city, in case they are relieved by an English regiment. In this latter case they are to go into winter quarters at Riviere du Loup and Machiche; and Lieutenant Colonel Praetorius shall endeavor to consult with Lieutenant Governor Oramach regarding the feasibility of transporting his regiment on ships as far as Three Rivers. All the regiments are to try and gather in those who, for the time being, were in the detachment under St. Leger, likewise those who are convalescent. Their heavy baggage must also be collected from those places where it was temporarily left. Every regiment is hereby notified that some English regiments, on their march to their various winter quarters, will have to pass through their districts. As many houses, therefore, as are necessary for their accommodation

must be given up to them, and all the assistance they require given them. This distribution into quarters being only temporary, I shall reserve to myself the ordering of any further details that may be necessary for the distribution of the regiments according to their numbers. Thus every one will have, proportionately, the same number of houses. My head quarters during the winter will be at Three Rivers; and in order to insure dispatch, the reports from each regiment are to be sent from one parish to another to head quarters.

"RIEDESEL.

"Point au Fer, October 20, 1776."

After the departure of the German troops for their quarters, General Riedesel, on the 21st, embarked on board the ship Washington — on which Burgoyne had just arrived from Crown point to Point au Fer, and which was now about returning to the former place — in order to have an interview with General Carleton. His object in this was not only to confer with that general in regard to several matters, but to view the country in the vicinity of Crown point. The Washington was the same vessel which had been taken on the 13th from the Americans. At the present time it was loaded with provisions for the garrison at Crown point. The voyage up Lake Champlain was very stormy. The main mast broke, and the ship ran aground upon a sand bank, in which situation she was forced to remain the entire night. Away from all human help, and lashed by the angry waves, she was in constant danger of becoming a total wreck. Nor was it until morning, that some boats, coming to her assistance, succeeded in getting her afloat. She then continued her voyage up the lake with a favorable wind.

Upon his arrival at Crown point, General Riedesel at once went on board the Lady Mary to call on General Carleton. The latter received him very kindly. He was not, however, in the best of spirits, for the position which he was to occupy, henceforth, was not equal to his expectations. The Americans

had accomplished nothing toward fortifying Crown point; and it was his opinion that if the English intended to keep that place, at least eleven hundred men would have to work for six weeks on its fortifications. In such a case these men would not, of course, be able to go into winter quarters. Boards would also be needed for the barracks of these troops; and in view of all these circumstances, he had determined to return to the Canadian side of Lake Champlain, and postpone further operations until spring. The passage down the lake was now free as the American fleet was destroyed; and it being impossible for the rebels to procure other ships, the English could pass unmolested. The Americans had a strongly fortified camp at Ticonderoga. General Carleton, therefore, pushed his outposts so far in this direction that they were within two leagues and a half from their camp. He expected that the enemy, discouraged by their loss, would retreat. In this, however, he was greatly disappointed, as we shall soon see. General Riedesel went as near their camp as possible, and viewed it from an eminence in the vicinity. Speaking of his observations on this occasion, he says:

"The army of the enemy, considering its strength, is much too extended. It is estimated here, as being ten thousand strong; but in consequence of disease and dissatisfaction, it has melted down to seven thousand. Were our whole army here, it would be an easy matter to drive it from its entrenchments. Its commander is Major General Gates (*Getsch*).

"While we were at Crown point, five prisoners were brought in by the Indians. They looked miserably. Captain Fraser captured, two days since, one hundred and fifty oxen directly in front of their entrenchments, without the rebels coming out or even firing a shot."

On the 24th, Riedesel inspected the works at Crown point, and having Captain Gerlech with him, had a sketch made of them. On the 25th, General Carleton left the Lady Mary and made Crown point his head quarters. The Hesse Hanau artil-

lery, which up to this time had been stationed at this place, received orders on this day to go into winter quarters at Montreal.

Part of the garrison were at this time engaged at Buttonmole bay (where Arnold had burned five of his ships), in raising some of the sunken war material, especially cannon. When Riedesel passed this spot, twenty guns had already been raised, and were distributed among the ships for ballast. About this time a dreadful report was current, viz: that General Arnold, while burning his five ships had also burned about thirty sick and wounded men who were on board.

On the 28th, General Riedesel left Crown point on the Washington. On the passage he again encountered a storm, and the vessel was once more in danger of being wrecked. The captain was obliged to cast anchor off the Isle aux Quatres Vents. The misfortunes of the ship, however, were not yet at an end. The day after resuming her voyage she ran aground near the River la Colle. Not wishing to lose time, the general at this place left the vessel in a small boat, and went to Chambly. Thence, on the 2d of November, he went to Machiche, and on the 3d, to Three Rivers. A few days later, General Carleton, with his men and fleet, returned down the lake and cast anchor in the vicinity of St. John. As the fleet was to remain here during the winter it was dismantled and put in suitable condition to withstand the ice and snow. Troops were sent to garrison the Isle aux Noix; Fraser, with a part of his corps, went to St. John, the rest being sent into winter quarters in the parishes on the Richelieu river; four English battalions were sent to the south side of the St. Lawrence from Sorel to Chateaugay; and three English battalions occupied the country between Cape Rouge and Quebec.

The return of General Carleton with his troops necessitated a change in the winter quarters. This change affected the German troops less than the others. The position of the army in winter quarters, was now as follows:

The Isle aux Noix, which constituted the extreme front, was occupied by the 20th Regiment. St. John and Chambly were occupied by English troops only — an arrangement which obliged Breymann's grenadier battalion, that had hitherto been at St. Charles and St. Denis, to be transferred to the north side of the river into the parishes of Arpentigni, Assumption and St. Sulpice. Barner's battalion was sent to the south side of the St. Lawrence, below Sorel, into the parishes of St. François, Jamasca, La Bayede, St. Antoine and Ricolet, as far as Bezancourt. In this disposition of the troops, General Carleton acted more with an eye to the comfort of the inhabitants than of the troops. He stated this, in fact, to some of his commanders. Only two, or at the most three men were to be quartered in one house. General Riedesel, in order to meet the wishes of the commander in chief as far as possible, had some of the government buildings converted into barracks that would accommodate two hundred men at a time. The English troops were distributed in the following manner:

The grenadiers in Bergeres, Contrecoeur and Point au Trembles, on the island of Montreal.

The 21st Regiment, at Barenne, Bouqueville and St. Jean.

The 31st Regiment, at Sorel, St. Tour, St. Denis, St. Charles and St. Antoine.

The 53d Regiment, at Chambly, St. Denis and Beloeil.

The 29th Regiment, in the three suburbs of Montreal.

The 47th Regiment, at La Chine and the other parishes of Montreal.[1]

The Scotch regiment, composed of the emigrants of McLean in the parishes beyond Montreal.

The corps of Chevalier Johnson,[2] was also stationed on this island. It was composed of a regiment which had just been formed of Englishmen and Canadians.

---

[1] The Hesse-Hanau artillery was also stationed at this place.

[2] Sir John Johnson.

The 9th Regiment occupied the island of Jesus.

The 62d Regiment, at Point Levi and vicinity — two companies of this regiment, however, were at Kamaraska.

The 34th Regiment, at head quarters — Quebec.

The volunteers of Mr. Monin and of Captain Fraser were scattered.

The troops received their provisions raw; whatever else they had from their hosts they were obliged to pay for; fuel they gathered in the woods. Commanders were especially enjoined to make diligent inquiry in regard to the manner in which the English government had been treated by those of the inhabitants in whose houses their men were quartered. Those who had taken sides with the rebels were to have more soldiers quartered upon them than the loyal. For the preservation of order a non-commissioned officer was ordered to inspect his men daily, an officer every forty-eight hours, and the colonel of a regiment every four weeks. On every pay day the troops were to be inspected, and, if the weather was favorable, drilled. The hospital for the German troops was the old Ursuline convent at Three Rivers. The magazines for the army were at Quebec, Sorel, Montreal, La Prairie, Isle aux Noix and Three Rivers.

On the 7th of November, Colonel Specht, who had been appointed a brigadier general a few days previously, made General Riedesel a visit. Accompanying him were Colonel Ehrenkrook and Captain Willoe. Henceforth the latter remained with the general; and, being a competent and faithful officer, was of great service to the latter. Willoe had hitherto belonged to the 8th Regiment. He was well acquainted with the country and its inhabitants, having been in Canada several years.[1]

On the 15th, General Carleton passed Three Rivers in a

[1] General Carleton sent Willoe to Riedesel upon the latter's request that he might have for a secretary, an officer who knew the country and could speak German.

small vessel on his way from Montreal to head quarters at Quebec. He was accompanied by his wife, Lady Mary, and their three children, and also by his brother-in-law and nephew, Captain Carleton and his wife. Before leaving Montreal, Lady Mary gave her husband the Order of the Bath which had been sent to him by the king.

On the 20th, Captain Gerlach left for the quarters of the Brunswick troops to see to the ships belonging to those regiments, and look after things generally. At this time the troops received their winter clothing, which consisted of long pantaloons of stout cloth reaching up to the breast, and made so that they could be buttoned round the feet. For a head covering they were provided with a warm cap.

Toward the middle of November, the English Captain Pringle sailed for Europe as the bearer of dispatches. Riedesel availed himself of this opportunity to send his also, together with several letters. The following is one to Duke Ferdinand:

"TROIS RIVIERES, *November* 10, 1776.

"Monseigneur: I hope your excellency has by this time received my last letter of the 19th of October, which I sent to England by Captain Decker of the navy. I have now the honor of transmitting to your excellency the continuation of my journal, and also of announcing the termination of this year's campaign, which has been a successful one for us, and has cost little blood.

"If we could have begun our last expedition four weeks earlier, I am satisfied that everything would have been ended this year; but not having shelter nor other necessary things, we were unable to remain at the other end of Lake Champlain. But I believe, and on pretty good grounds, that the whole affair will be terminated with another campaign. The rebels are losing courage. They know that they are being led astray by some ambitious men, but do not yet see how to get out of the fix. There are many, both in Albany and New York, who impatiently wait for the arrival of the northern army, to unite

with it; but at present, they dare not give expression to their feelings, for fear of losing their property and life.

"As this, probably, is the last ship that will sail for England this year, I avail myself of this opportunity to express to your excellency my last sentiments of devotion for this year, hoping that your excellency may end it, as previous ones, in the best of health, welfare and contentment.

"RIEDESEL."

On the 31st, the evacuation of Quebec was celebrated. Riedesel was present on the occasion, notwithstanding he had previously sprained a limb, and was quite lame. At 9 o'clock, the archbishop performed high mass in the Cathedral. Several of the inhabitants, who had taken sides with the Americans, were obliged to do penance on this occasion. At 10 o'clock, all the generals, military and civil officers, and gentlemen of the militia met for the purpose of waiting upon General Carleton. The latter, in company with them, went into the lower part of the city to attend divine service in English; after the services, the militia fired three rounds. General Carleton then gave a grand dinner, to which sixty persons were invited. At 7 o'clock in the evening, they proceeded to a large English restaurant, where they ended up with a grand ball, in which ninety-six ladies and one hundred and fifty gentlemen participated. Gailard was struck with apoplexy during a dance. The dead body was immediately removed, and the dancing continued until morning.

Thus the campaign of the year was most favorably ended for the army in Canada, General Carleton again proving his splendid capabilities as a commander. General Amherst had previously occupied thirteen months in preparations for crossing Lake Champlain. Carleton accomplished it in three months, besides keeping the army in better discipline and bringing the province, which had already shown signs of rebellion, into obedience. In three months he built three new ships of twelve to twenty guns,

a floating battery, two large gondolas of twelve guns, twenty-five long ships carrying each a twelve-pounder and about six hundred smaller vessels for the troops. The timber for all of these had to be hewn in the forest and brought from a long distance in the face of many difficulties. Indeed, his preparations were scarcely completed when he attacked and destroyed the hostile fleet on Lake Champlain.

Before closing this chapter, we will briefly review the active operations of the other two armies.

The Hesse Cassel troops were a part of General Howe's army, and numbered twelve thousand men. That general had, upon leaving Halifax, gone to Staten island; and, after vainly attempting to open negotiations with the commander in chief, Washington, he landed on Long island on the 22d of August, and beat an American corps under General Sullivan near Brokland [Brooklyn ?] He then occupied New York. It was not until the 14th of October that the army in Canada heard of this occurrence, and then only through the chance circumstance of finding on the ship, taken from the Americans, a letter from Washington to Arnold, in which the former writes that he had lost a battle on Long island, and that New York was consequently in the possession of the English. This is a proof of the defective communication kept up between the British armies.[1]

After the occupation of New York by the British, the position of Washington at White Plains could no longer be maintained. He accordingly retreated into the northern highlands, and afterward crossed the Delaware. On the 22d of December, the British captured Newport. There was now nothing to prevent General Howe advancing on Philadelphia, whence the congress had already departed for Baltimore. He, however,

---

[1] It was not until the 26th of October that reliable news regarding Howe's victory reached General Carleton. The Americans lost 1,000 in dead and wounded; the English, 7 officers and 63 men; and the Hessians, 3 dead and 38 wounded. Only one battalion of the latter was engaged.— *Note in the original.* Bancroft states the loss of the Hessians at 2 killed and 26 wounded.

failed to do it. In the meantime, Washington gathered fresh reenforcements and collected his scattered army. He again advanced; broke through the British lines on the 25th of December, and captured one thousand Hessians. Trenton and Bordentown were at this time occupied by the latter troops under the command of Colonel Von Rall and Colonel Donop. The latter officer was deceived by a false attack and pursued, with his entire corps of two thousand men, those who purposely fled. Simultaneously with this feigned retreat, Washington attacked Colonel Rall at Trenton, who was of course deprived of any assistance from Donop. After their late successes, and in view of the weakness of the enemy, the British were not expecting an attack at this point, and allowed themselves to repose in fancied security. For this false confidence, the Hessians paid dearly; and the old adage — not to undervalue one's enemy — was in this case proved true. Colonel Rall quickly gathered his men; but everything being done in a great hurry, and Rall himself wounded in the beginning of the action, the Hessians endeavored to retreat to Princeton. In this attempt, however, they were unsuccessful, being all cut off and captured. An English historian of the American war says:

"The Americans had hitherto regarded the Hessians with fear and terror. They knew them to be veterans and accustomed to military discipline. As a natural consequence, therefore, this victory over the foreign troops reanimated them in an astonishing manner, and rekindled their courage which of late had burned low."

As the Americans would not believe that the Hessians had been beaten, Washington had those troops marched through the different streets of Philadelphia whither, after their capture, they had been first brought.

Washington, fully believing that the British would advance on his little army, recrossed the Delaware; but General Howe remained irresolute and inactive; and in this manner the few remaining days of the year passed away.

Generals Clinton and Cornwallis met with no success in the southern provinces. They marched, in June, against Charleston, where they expected the support of a fleet from the sea. But they were beaten everywhere by the Americans, under General Lee, and forced to retreat to New York. Had General Howe acted with more energy and care at the close of the year, it may be safely conjectured that the rebellion in the colonies would have been suppressed; but it was otherwise written in the book of fate.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1777.

General Riedesel, who had gone to head quarters at Quebec, to be present at the celebration of the evacuation of that city, remained there longer than he had at first intended. General Carleton honored him with his friendship; and by every distinguished personage he was treated with great courtesy; so much so, indeed, that in a letter to his wife, he says, "Honors and courtesies are heaped upon me."

The birthday of the queen of England was celebrated on the 20th, in every city and village where troops were stationed. Riedesel, especially, did all in his power to render the affair as august as possible. Many officers from different places came to Three Rivers; and the city was so full of life and animation that the citizens declared they had never witnessed such a splendid occasion. The general gave a dinner at noon, which was attended by forty guests; and in the evening, a ball and a supper. Henceforth, there were balls and dinners every week. In the letter to his wife, just quoted, he writes concerning it as follows: "I do this partly to gain the affection of the inhabitants, and partly to give the officers an opportunity of indulging in innocent amusements, and thus prevent them from visiting the taverns and getting into bad company." Indeed, in regard to the latter he was very strict; and would not allow his officers to lead a dissipated life, and contract debts. He, however, did not desire the affections of the inhabitants so much for himself personally, as he did for the welfare of his troops. The conduct of commanders always either benefits or damages, to a greater or less extent, the troops under them.

The winters in Canada are usually very severe. The present one, however, was an exception, for up to this time it had been so mild that the inhabitants did not remember of ever having seen its like before. It was, therefore, jocosely called "the winter of the Germans." The St. Lawrence, which generally freezes over, remained open; but Lake St. Pierre was frozen over by December, so that it could be crossed on sleighs.

But new difficulties between the English and some of the Indian tribes sprung up, the latter insisting upon being led in the approaching campaign by their leaders only. This the governor could not allow, since they desired this solely for the sake of plunder and other outrages. These Indians cared little for the cause of the English king; and yearned for war, only that they might take revenge on the neighboring colonists whom they hated for taking and occupying their lands. In fact, much trouble was continually experienced with these wild savages; for although they were pretty good as out guards and patrols, they amounted to precious little in battle. If the first onset was not successful they immediately ran away; but if victorious, they committed the most cruel outrages on those who had the misfortune to fall into their hands. The one who caused this change in the conduct of the Indians, was an Iroquois, named Joseph, who had been in England for some time, and, therefore, possessed considerable influence over several tribes. He succeeded in putting up distant tribes to all kinds of deviltries; and thus, the English generals had all they could do, for the sake of humanity, to instill better principles into these barbarians.

General Riedesel was a great stickler for thorough discipline. He, therefore, sought to employ his troops as much as possible during the winter in various kinds of drill, and especially in that of rapidity of firing, in which many of them were still deficient. The Americans used their rifles better and at a greater distance than the German troops — a fact that he had already learned from the Hessians. On the 8th of March,

General Carleton arrived at Three Rivers, after having inspected those of the German troops that were quartered elsewhere. After witnessing their drill, he left for Montreal accompanied by General Riedesel. On the 10th, Riedesel wrote from that place to the commanders of the different regiments that his excellency, General Carleton, had commissioned him to assure them of the satisfaction which he had received upon witnessing the order, propriety and good bearing which obtained among their men, but, especially, the splendid discipline which was observed at their quarters. He further says, "It affords me much pleasure to hear this praise; and I warmly thank the commanders of the regiments, and their respective officers for maintaining such good order."

On the 15th, General Riedesel with General Carleton and suit, returned to Montreal. The Englishmen dined with him, and left the following morning.

Toward the latter part of March two ships, which had lain dismantled through the winter near St. John, were again put in condition for service. They at once sailed into the lake, and anchored between Isle aux Noix and Point au Fer. It now suddenly became so cold that the lake was frozen in several places, and a gondola, which had been sent out to reconnoitre, could not return. This last cold snap was as unexpected to the Canadians as the mild winter; but the sun was now too high for the cold weather to continue for any length of time. Northern lights were frequently seen during this cold spell.

As soon as the season permitted, one hundred new vessels were built, and some of the old ones repaired for the use, more particularly of the second division. Several new forts were also built at St. John, and a few alterations made to the floating battery. This battery had eighteen twenty-four-pounders on deck, which were capable of being elevated to use against fortifications upon land. The ship Washington, which, it will be remembered, had been captured from the Americans, underwent some repairs and alterations. In addition to all of which, two

new three-masters of twenty guns each were constructed. Captain Schenk, who, the previous year, built the beautiful Inflexible in such a remarkably short a time, superintended the work, and was, in fact, director of the whole of the shipbuilding. General Riedesel was asked the loan of a Brunswick flag to serve as a pattern for a new one. By this, a compliment was intended, both to the duke of Brunswick and his troops.

The policy of General Carleton was to retain Canada by the sword for his king, at the same time that he conciliated the inhabitants by mild measures. It was, therefore, his constant endeavor to lighten the burdens of war as much as possible, for which reason, he especially enjoined it upon his troops to abstain from all ungentlemanly conduct. Justice had particularly suffered since the outbreak of the war; and Carleton, as governor, endeavored to restore it. He, accordingly, divided the country into districts, in each of which the courts were obliged to hold sessions twice a week — an arrangement by which he hoped to facilitate the inhabitants in the trial of their causes. At Quebec a court of final appeal was instituted. Nor were these praiseworthy efforts confined to the courts alone. He, also, issued practical orders for the regulation of trade and the organization of the militia.

As General Carleton was unable to obtain any authentic information in regard to the movements of General Howe, he sent, as early as the middle of February, two detachments of Indians toward the south, for the purpose of receiving some information respecting that general. As these detachments were obliged to steal their way through states occupied by the enemy, they were forced to take the most unfrequented roads. One of these detachments, therefore, under Mr. Lanieres, took a course through the woody lowlands of the Kennebeck. The first detachment soon returned, bringing with them four prisoners from New England, but without any definite information of General Howe and his army. The second detachment, consisting of twenty-five Indians, under the skillful English captain,

McKay, made their way through the large forests on the western shore of Lake Champlain, and surprised and captured between Fort Carillon and Fort William Henry, a party of the enemy, numbering one officer and twenty-three men. Taking with them these prisoners, the detachment returned to Montreal in the beginning of April. From one of these prisoners General Carleton first learned the fate of the Hessians at Trenton.

At this time, General Riedesel wrote to Duke Ferdinand the following letter:

"THREE RIVERS, *April* 10, 1777.

"Monseigneur: I am very much flattered by the fact that your excellency still remembers his old servant, who will never forget that, for his present position, as well as for the little knowledge he possesses, he is indebted to yourself. His gratefulness will, therefore, never cease. I have taken the liberty of writing your excellency very often during the past year, and have sent you from time to time, a continuation of the *journal* so far as regards all that has occurred in our army the past year. But having received no answer, I am unable to tell whether all my reports have reached you or not. It is unfortunate that letters from Europe are so long in coming.[1]

Our army have remained very quietly in their winter quarters; in fact, there has not been a solitary rifle discharged against the enemy the last ten months. The lakes, large rivers, indeed, everything has been covered with ice. In addition to which, the monstrous deserts and forests have aided in putting an end, for the time being, to this insignificant war. Care for the health of the men, and drilling, have thus far been our only occupation. The entire army, which, by the bye, is in excellent condition, is always ready to march at a moment's notice, and

[1] We can scarcely realize, in these days, the slow process of transmitting letters at that time. Although the official correspondence was sent on the royal ships, they were sometimes eight and ten months on the way. Duke Ferdinand answered all the letters he received from Riedesel immediately.— *Note in the original.*

will move as soon as the melting of the ice will permit a passage down Lake Champlain. We are, at present, opposite Mahahugets' bay, in the vicinity of which are those rebels that General Howe left in his rear when he marched south into Pennsylvania. It is my belief that this campaign will finish the war, provided we are successful in driving the enemy away from there.[1] We have hardly any news of the movements of General Howe's army; and the little which we do hear is so contradictory, that I will not mention it, for fear of giving false reports. I hope that as soon as the fleet is ready, our operations will progress faster than they did last year, and that I shall be able to report events to your excellency of more interest than those of the last campaign.

"I remain, etc.,

"RIEDESEL."

"THREE RIVERS, *May* 8, 1777.

"P. S. — No ship having sailed when I wrote the above, I have now the honor of communicating to your excellency, that General Burgoyne returned from London, on the Apollo, day before yesterday. He brings me five letters from your excellency; the first, dated at Gardersheim, October 11th; the second, October 21st, from the same place; and the last three from Brunswick, under dates respectively, of November 22d, 23d, and 28th. These five letters have given me exceeding great joy. I return my humblest thanks to your excellency for the kind expressions of regard which you manifest in all your letters. Your excellency is perfectly right in saying that it would have been of great advantage, could we have wintered at the southern extremity of the lake. The facts, however, which I have written down in my journal to you of last year, will show the impossibility, and the reasons for not doing it. The only benefit

[1] General Riedesel seems to have had very little idea of the extent of the country. For a further confirmation of this, see *The Letters and Journals of Mrs. General Riedesel*, p. 8, note.

which has resulted from the expedition up the lake last fall is, that the fleet of the rebels has been destroyed — a loss which, to them, is irreparable, and which, also, will greatly facilitate our passage up the lake this year. The instructions which have been brought to General Carleton, by General Burgoyne, will, I believe, inaugurate the campaign immediately, in which case I shall soon be able to transmit more interesting news to your excellency. I am, etc.,

"RIEDESEL."

On the 20th of April, General Riedesel went to Quebec on the ship Ceres, for the purpose of consulting with General Carleton. He returned on the 30th, and at once dispatched Captain Gerlach to the different regiments, with orders to inspect the vessels, and put them in thorough repair. The same day a singular accident occurred. A drummer of the regiment Riedesel, while taking a stroll through the woods, came across a root exactly resembling a carrot. He ate of it, and a few hours after was taken violently ill, and died in convulsions. As there was every indication of poison, a *post mortem* examination was held, by which it appeared that the root eaten by the soldier was none other than the *carrotte à morant* one of the most poisonous vegetables in that region. Riedesel immediately issued a precautionary order regarding it, mentioning also, the antidote, in case of any other soldier making a similar mistake.

Meanwhile those Indian tribes, who had been prejudiced against the English by the Iroquois Joseph, thought better of their conduct, and sent deputies to General Carleton expressing their willingness to serve under him. The meeting took place on the 30th of April at Quebec, on which occasion, General Carleton distributed presents among them. This change was mainly due to the exertions of Captain Twiss of the Indian department. This Captain Twiss had been, the year previous, with the army of General Howe, but upon the latter going into winter quarters, he returned to his regular duties, which were

to look after those tribes in the upper country, who might be on the side of the king. Being an energetic and eloquent man, he at last succeeded in effecting the favorable change just mentioned. At this time he had brought with him two deputies from each tribe. Meanwhile, during the holding of this meeting, eight hundred Indians gathered in the vicinity of Niagara, and there awaited the return of their delegates and instructions from the governor.

It so happened that General Riedesel was at Quebec, when Captain Twiss returned from the upper country, and was present when the latter reported to General Carleton the results of his last mission, and the condition of General Howe's army. This was the first time that reliable news had been received from the latter. As this authentic report of a man, who had been up to this time with General Howe, will throw a clearer light upon questions which have hitherto been either disputed or unknown, we will here literally quote what we find of it in Riedesel's journal.

"Captain Twiss confirms the report of General Howe's engagement on Staten island; also that on Long island, in which Generals Putnam and Sullivan were killed;[1] and likewise the capture of, and a great conflagration at New York. It seems that General Clinton led the main attack on this occasion. He also confirms the capture of the fortified camp of the rebels at King's bridge, with this difference — that here no engagement had taken place the enemy giving up this position without firing a shot, and leaving behind all their heavy artillery and baggage. Finally, he confirms the capture of the entrenchments Washington, at a place called White Plains, where thirty-five hundred rebels were taken prisoners. In the beginning of this engagement, the rebels fought well. The English were led by General Clinton and the Hessian General Knipphausen. Captain Twiss further reports that General Howe, about the beginning of November, had taken

[1] Captain Twiss's report does not seem to have been more reliable than previous ones.

from eleven to twelve thousand prisoners. Toward the middle of November, General Howe went into winter quarters, but the action differs materially from that which was named in the previous account. General Howe had his head quarters at New York, while a large portion of his army was distributed through Staten island, Long island, the counties of New York and Westchester, and in that part of the province of Jersey which is situated between the Hudson and Raritan rivers. General Clinton was stationed at New Brunswick in Jersey with a detached corps. This place is on the Raritan river. A corps of Hessians, nine hundred strong, was placed as an outpost at Trenton on the Delaware. This corps was commanded by a general whose name Captain Twiss does not remember.[1] This was the arrangement for winter quarters at the time when Captain Twiss left the army of General Howe for Niagara to be present at a meeting of the Indians. Captain Twiss, also, confirms the rumor of the capture of the rebel General Lee near Trenton."

So much for the report of Captain Twiss. Let us now proceed with the events that were occurring in Canada. General Carleton at this time brought to Riedesel a package of orders and documents that had been sent to him from Brunswick.

General Burgoyne had also brought from his government the most important orders respecting his army and the coming campaign; for the chivalric Carleton, who had hitherto proved himself so competent, was not to be permitted to follow up the advantages which he had won: this was to be left to General Burgoyne! As soon as this news was received, suspicions were at once entertained that the visit of the latter to England had not been solely to arrange his family affairs; especially since such grave changes had been made in his favor. It was known that Burgoyne had friends in London who filled high positions, and over whom he had great influence, owing to his peculiar

[1] The general here spoken of was Colonel Von Rall, of whom mention has been made previously.

talent for insinuating himself into their good graces. It was also pretty generally known that the minister in charge of the American portfolio was no friend of General Carleton. Be this, however, as it may, henceforth, General Burgoyne was to be the commander in chief of the army in Canada.

The English government did not dare to set aside General Carleton at once; but the whole affair was so arranged that it amounted to the same thing. How it was managed will be seen from the following extract which is literally copied from Riedesel's journal:

"Notwithstanding the king and the ministry are extremely well satisfied with the generalship in the last campaign, and have returned him their warmest thanks, his majesty has thought it advisable to announce that when the army leaves the province, which it has hitherto occupied, the governor general of that province shall no longer command that army, but shall remain in his province, and the second general shall assume command of the departing troops. As the necessity of the case of course demanded that the greater part of the army should move across Lake Champlain into New England, this was a virtual command to General Carleton to remain in Canada, keeping as many troops as he considered necessary for the defense of this province. General Burgoyne was to take command of the rest of the army; lead them across Lake Champlain into New England; drive the rebels from Ticonderoga and Lake St. Sacrement, and open a communication with General Howe, from whom he was to receive his further instructions."

A great mistake was undoubtedly here made by the British ministry, as further events have shown. The first question to have been determined was, whether the possession of the interior of the country, or the successful prosecution of the war was of the most consequence. Any one almost, in the absence of General Carleton, could have attended to the administration of Canada, whose inhabitants were mostly loyal, and whose internal affairs had just been rearranged. Carleton had, hitherto,

worked with energy and success; he knew the army thoroughly, and enjoyed the confidence of the officers and men. It was a great risk to remove a man, who was so peculiarly fitted for so important a position, without a better cause. Although greatly grieved, he bowed to the will of his sovereign, and carried out his orders to the letter. On the 10th of May, he surrendered the command of the troops, destined for the expedition into New England, to General Burgoyne. The 29th, 31st and 34th English regiments, the battalion of McLean and six hundred and fifty Germans remained in Canada. The reenforcements which were expected from England, consisting of new companies for the 11th Regiment, were also to remain. The army under Burgoyne was composed of the English regiment of grenadiers, the English light infantry, the 9th, 20th, 21st, 24th, 27th, 53d and 62d German infantry regiments, with the exception of the above mentioned six hundred and fifty men, and the whole of the artillery and necessary train for the army. These troops were to hold themselves in readiness for marching at a moment's notice.

General Burgoyne arrived on the 15th of May at Three Rivers, where he dined with General Riedesel. At this time, he informed the latter that he designed commencing operations as soon as the provisions arrived from Chambly and St. John, for the maintenance of the army for six weeks; and as soon also as a sufficient number of vessels for transporting the troops could be collected. Captain Ludridge received the command of the fleet on Lake Champlain, with orders to sail ahead toward Crown point, and keep the enemy's vessels — if there were any in that vicinity — from interfering with the passage of the main body of the fleet. The army was to march in brigades to the right; be embarked in the same order, and unite again near Crown point. Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger of the 34th Regiment, in consequence of express orders of the king, was to lead an independent corps in the approaching campaign.

This corps consisted of a detachment of one hundred and

forty men from the 34th Regiment, the same number from the 5th, three companies of Canadian volunteers and all the Indians which had rendezvoused at Niagara. From this latter point this corps marched along the Mohawk intending to make their way to Albany and New York and thus form the advance guard for the army which was to follow. On his arrival near Albany, St. Leger was to get in the rear of those Americans who were at Ticonderoga and thus cut off their supplies. General Burgoyne expected great things from this corps, as it was known that the colonists stood in great dread of the Indians.

On the 28th of May, General Riedesel received orders from Burgoyne to concentrate the German troops with a view to their embarkation at any moment. General Carleton and suit arrived at Three Rivers on the 30th, and breakfasted with Riedesel. Both generals remained alone over an hour, and then bid one another farewell; for each had learned to esteem and love the other. General Carleton then went to Montreal to give orders in regard to the departure of the troops. He manifested not the least ill feeling toward Burgoyne; but remained as friendly with him as before, lending him in everything a helping hand. He retained his old staff and adjutants. General Burgoyne, therefore, was obliged to form another staff for himself. But, notwithstanding this apparent resignation, and the care with which he arranged every detail, all who were acquainted with Carleton, knew that he would soon leave the theatre of war.

General Riedesel received his instructions for the march from General Burgoyne on the 31st of May, and thereupon issued the following order:

"The battalion of light infantry is to be between St. Denis and Sorel on the 2d of June; thence it will continue its march, reaching Chambly on the 6th. Teams and baggage are to be transported by land as far as St. Therese, where the battalion will embark and sail, by way of St. John, Isle aux Noix and

Point au Fer, to Cumberland head, on the northern shore of Lake Champlain, the place for the rendezvous. Breymann's battalion of grenadiers will, on the 3d, cross the St. Lawrence, between Berthier and Sorel, keeping a day's march behind the battalion of light infantry and taking the same route. The regiments of Hesse Hanau and of Prince Frederick of Brunswick, under Brigadier Von Gall, will follow the grenadiers; the regiment Riedesel, on the 5th of June; the regiment of dragoons on the 6th, and the regiment Von Rhetz and Specht, under Brigadier Specht, will cross the St. Lawrence on the 7th, and follow the same route. All the heavy baggage, together with the sick, is to remain at Three Rivers. All the regiments will take rations from their respective magazines, sufficient to last till their arrival at Cumberland head, where fresh supplies will be distributed.

"As there are not a sufficient number of vessels for all the regiments, the baggage must be transported by water, and those of the troops who cannot be accommodated on board must march on the land, parallel with the ships, as far as St. John or any other point where the rest of the vessels are to be furnished.

"All the regiments and companies before leaving their winter quarters are to obtain certificates from their respective parishes in which they have been quartered during the winter, that they owe nobody, and that no one has any complaints against them. This is done that our good reputation for discipline may not be lost."

The detachment, composed of the six hundred and fifty men that were to remain in Canada, was made up on the 1st of June. Lieutenant Colonel Ehrenkrook, who had been placed in command of it, was ordered to be at Three Rivers on that day to receive further instructions. All the reports were to be sent to Governor Carleton, as it was under his immediate command. Neither the regiment of dragoons nor the corps of chasseurs furnished men for this detachment.

The dragoon regiment as yet had received no horses; and to a great extent it remained without them during the entire war. And although this regiment was accoutred like cavalry — wearing leather pantaloons, high boots and gauntlets, and carrying heavy swords and short carbines — it was obliged to march and drill the same as infantry. To make its clothing lighter, Riedesel ordered for this regiment, and the regiment Riedesel, long linen trousers, striped with white and blue, and similar to those worn by the inhabitants during summer. In course of time all the troops were furnished with such pantaloons.

Another vessel being about to sail at this time to Europe, Riedesel availed himself of the opportunity thus presented, to forward his dispatches and letters.

The German troops began their march on the 2d. The battalion of chasseurs, under Barner, went to Sorel; the regiment of Prince Frederick to the parish of Masquinonge and Berthier; the staff and three companies of the regiment Specht to Cape Madelaine; and one company of the regiment Von Rhetz, that had wintered on the south side of the St. Lawrence, to Beaucourt and St. Pierre, thus advancing toward Sorel, where they all united with their regiments.

Lieutenant Colonel Ehrenkrook took charge of his detachment on the 4th of June. It was made up as follows:

	Staff Officers.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Non-com. Officers.	Privates.
Of the Battalion of Grenadiers,	..	1	1	6	72
Of the Regiment Prince Frederick,	..	1	2	8	91
Of the Regiment of Rhetz,	1	1	2	7	91
Of the Regiment of Riedesel,	..	..	2	7	91
Of the Regiment of Specht,	..	1	2	7	91
Battalion Von Barner,	..	1	1	6	68
Regiment Hesse Hanau,	..	1	2	7	96
Total,	1	6	12	48	600

Altogether 667 men.

On the 1st of June, 1777, the Brunswick troops, according to a report of Adjutant Cleve, numbered 3,958 men, as follows:

	Officers.	Non-com. Officers.	Musicians.	Privates.	Servants.
Staff,	6	7	..	6	4
Regiment Dragoons,	20	33	8	246	29
Regiment Prince Frederick,	27	62	15	533	41
Regiment of Rhetz,	27	62	15	535	41
Regiment of Riedesel,	27	62	15	535	41
Regiment of Specht,	27	62	15	535	41
Battalion Grenadiers,	19	45	20	452	28
Battalion Barner,	24	56	14	528	36
Total,	177	389	102	3372	261

On the 1st of January, 1778, it consisted of 176 officers, 382 non-commissioned officers, 95 musicians, 3,052 privates, 253 servants.

Missing.— 1 officer, 7 non-commissioned officers, 7 musicians, 320 privates, 8 servants.

Pay-roll.— 4,301 men; actual number, 3,958; missing therefrom, 343. Sick, 76; missing, 262; under arrest, 5; together, 343 men.

General Riedesel and staff left Three Rivers on the 5th, making the journey by water, and spent the first night at Masquinonge, whither Brigadier General Specht had preceded them with his regiment. The head quarters of the German troops on the 6th was at Sorel, where the 67th Regiment, under the brave Colonel Anstruther, had already arrived. This regiment was one of the best in the English army, having distinguished itself on every occasion. It belonged to the brigade of General Hamilton, but for the present it was to remain at this place for the protection of the transports and magazines.

On the 7th, Riedesel took up his quarters in the parish of Chambly this side of the fort. The battalion of Barner and the grenadier battalion of Breymann had arrived on the previous day, and thus had several hours for rest. The rapids, which begin near Fort Chambly and extend two leagues up the stream to St. Therese, considerably impeded the progress of the troops; for the vessels could not sail up them, and consequently all the baggage had to be carried around on teams. The regi-

ments received their vessels and baggage at St. Therese. On the 8th, Riedesel made his head quarters above Fort Chambly, and remained there for the present.

On the 10th, General Phillips arrived and dined with him. General Burgoyne also arrived in the evening, and fixed his quarters in an adjoining village below the fort. On the morning of the 11th, General Phillips left for St. John, and thereupon Burgoyne took possession of his quarters. At noon Burgoyne went to St. John, and Riedesel to St. Therese, where he dined with Colonel McKenzie of the 31st Regiment. This regiment was one of those that were destined to remain in Canada. Thence Riedesel went to St. John. Here he found everything entirely changed. During the whole of the winter the troops had been kept at work on the fortifications which were now greatly enlarged and improved. New houses had been built for the commander and the officers; also comfortable barracks for five hundred men. Besides the great magazines, new bakeries, breweries, workhouses, blacksmiths' and other shops necessary for ship building had also been erected. In a word, the place had now all the appearance of a fortified city. A very pretty house was prepared for General Riedesel. On the morning of the 12th, General Carleton arrived at the fort for the purpose of again inspecting the division of the army quartered here, and of consulting with General Burgoyne and other officers on several topics of moment. All the officers present paid their respects to their commander whom they were about to leave, and to whom they were all most tenderly attached. The parting was deeply affecting. All the chief officers dined with General Phillips; and while they were still at table a messenger arrived from Quebec with the news that fifteen transports had arrived there from Europe. This fleet consisted in all of thirty-nine vessels laden with troops and war material. It brought eleven companies from England, together with four hundred chasseurs from Hanau destined for the German corps. Captain Thomas and Lieutenant Ruth from

Brunswick were also on board with recruits, money, clothing and dispatches. One ship, the Isabella Dorothea, with one hundred more Brunswick recruits, had not yet arrived, having become separated from the rest of the fleet during the passage. Captain Thomas received orders to take his recruits to Three Rivers, leave them there, and then follow General Riedesel. Riedesel's wife and three children had also arrived in the fleet. He rejoiced greatly at this intelligence, and being still at table, all present drank to the health of the newly arrived family.[1]

On the morning of the 13th, General Carleton and suit left for the Isle au Noix. He received a parting salute from the ships Carleton, Lee, and Radeau, which were still lying at anchor in the river. The national flags floated from the masts of the first two vessels; while, from the two masts of the Radeau or floating battery — which had lately been refitted — the English and Brunswick flags were displayed.

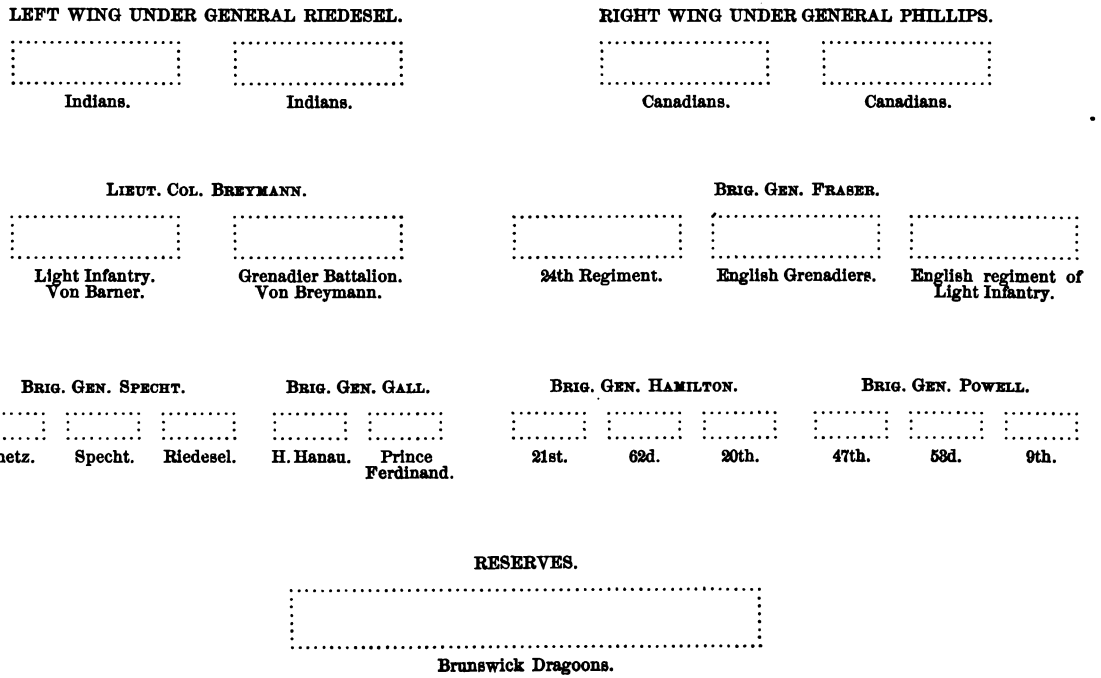
In the meanwhile, fifteen hundred horses had been purchased in Canada for the army. They were to be sent to Crown point by land.

On the morning of the 14th, General Carleton received the dragoon regiment. He also witnessed the landing of the regiments of Rhetz and Specht, the troops of which defiled before him. He expressed his entire satisfaction with the good behavior and discipline of the Brunswick troops; and, after bidding farewell to Burgoyne and Riedesel, he left for Montreal.

On the 15th, Burgoyne went to Isle au Noix. On his departure he also received a salute of fifteen guns from the ship Carleton.

By the 18th, the whole of the German corps had arrived at Cumberland head. This place is seven and a half leagues distant from Point au Fer. The entire army was now together, with the exception of Hamilton's brigade, which, as has been already mentioned, was to remain for the present, to protect the magazines, but was to follow on afterward. The position of the army was now as follows:

[1] For a more particular account of this episode, see *The Letters and Journals of Mrs. General Riedesel.*


LEFT WING UNDER GENERAL RIEDESEL.
Indians.
Indians.
RIGHT WING UNDER GENERAL PHILLIPS.
Canadians.
Canadians.
Lieut. Col. Breymann.
Light Infantry. Von Barner.
Grenadier Battalion. Von Breymann.
Brig. Gen. Fraser.
24th Regiment.
English Grenadiers.
English regiment of Light Infantry.
Brig. Gen. Specht.
Rhetz.
Specht.
Riedesel.
Brig. Gen. Gall.
H. Hanau.
Prince Ferdinand.
Brig. Gen. Hamilton.
21st.
62d.
20th.
Brig. Gen. Powell.
47th.
53d.
9th.
RESERVES.
Brunswick Dragoons.

GENERAL DISPOSITION OF THE ARMY.

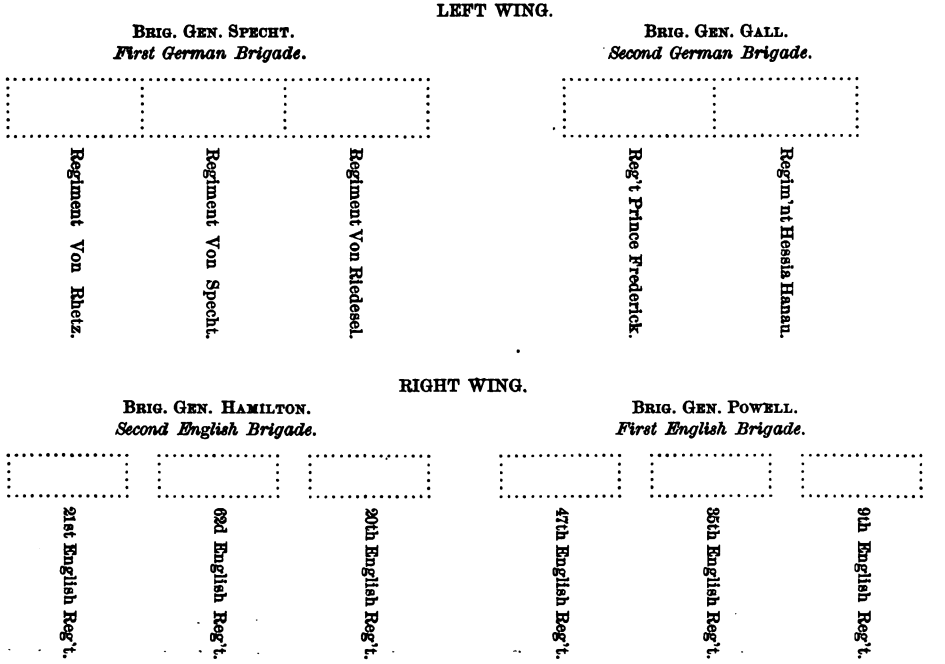
"To the detachment of the corps of Brigadier General Fraser, which forms the advance and consists of the English light infantry, the English grenadiers and the 24th Regiment, are to be added the Canadian corps of Captain Monen and Boucherville, also Captain Fraser's detachment and a corps of savages. The Brunswick chasseurs,[1] the grenadiers and the light infantry Von Barner, under Lieutenant Colonel Breymann, will form the reserve corps. The Brunswick regiment of dragoons is, for the present, to do duty at head quarters. The corps of Peter and Jessop shall also be outside of the line of march. The recruits of the 33d Regiment, under Lieutenant Nutt, shall for the present, serve on board the fleet. The army will encamp, until otherwise ordered, in the following manner: (See opposite page).

"If the army should encamp in two lines, then the second brigade is to occupy a position in the rear of their respective nationalities. The brigadier generals will always encamp with their respective brigades."

On the morning of the nineteenth, General Burgoyne had the whole army under arms; and riding down the entire front, he appointed the following day for the march. The whole army was to be provided with sufficient rations to last until the 30th of June. Accordingly, on the following morning (the 20th), instead of the reveille, the general march was beaten, and soon the army was in readiness for the embarkation. General Burgoyne with great pomp, went on board the Lady Mary; and immediately the booming of cannon from this ship announced that the army were about to start.

The company of chasseurs, the battalion of light infantry, and the battalion of light grenadiers formed the advance guard. At a distance of two hundred yards followed the dragoon regi-

[1] Also called yägers.


LEFT WING.
Brig. Gen. Specht.
First German Brigade.
Regiment Von Rhetz.
Regiment Von Specht.
Regiment Von Riedesel.
Brig. Gen. Gall.
Second German Brigade.
Reg't Prince Frederick.
Regim'nt Hessia Hanau.
RIGHT WING.
Brig. Gen. Hamilton.
Second English Brigade.
21st English Reg't.
62d English Reg't.
20th English Reg't.
Brig. Gen. Powell.
First English Brigade.
47th English Reg't.
35th English Reg't.
9th English Reg't.

ment; then, at the same distance, came the brigade of General Powell; then the brigade of Gall; and last of all, that of Specht. Four of the bateaux formed a line. By mid-day the army arrived at their camp in Ligonier bay, having advanced four and a half leagues. General Fraser had left the day before with his brigade for River Bouquet. At this latter point the last of the three Indian tribes came up, with the intention of remaining henceforth with the army. These savages numbered about one hundred. The other Indians were already at Crown point, where they had surprised a detachment of the enemy, killed ten, and captured an equal number whom they scalped. In the evening the Washington was added to the fleet. General Burgoyne sailed in advance, in order to catch up with General Fraser, and reach Crown point as quickly as possible. Before leaving he gave General Riedesel the command of the army, with orders to follow with it as soon as he was able.

It was understood that at four o'clock on the morning of the 23d, the army was to make a fresh start, General Fraser having received orders to move up close to Crown point on that day. Riedesel had the army ready to move at the appointed hour, but just as it was on the point of embarking, a violent wind arose, and the waves on the lake beat up so furiously, that those troops, who had been sent in advance and could be seen from the shore, were in constant danger of being drowned. The chief danger consisted in sailing around Point de Ligonier which took them four hours. General Riedesel made several attempts to weather this dangerous point, but failing in all of them, and being reluctant to expose the army to such danger, he gave orders to return to its old camp. The next morning the weather was more favorable and the troops were at once embarked; but scarcely were they again upon the water, when a terrible thunder and hail storm arose. Fortunately, however, the lake remained quiet. The thunder storm was soon succeeded by a fog so dense that the drummers in the advance were obliged to beat their

drums continually to keep the fleet together and indicate the course to be pursued. During the voyage Hamilton's brigade caught up, and at once received orders from Riedesel to follow the army. After being about three hours on the water a strong wind came up, causing the waves to roll very high; but now there was no alternative but to continue the voyage. While passing through this danger, the troops not only behaved with the most exemplary order, but, in their small vessels, calmly and courageously battled with the waves, showing considerable dexterity in the use of the rudder. Five vessels were driven out of their course, and forced to land on the Isle aux Quatres Vents. They, however, reached the army the following day. The same day (the 25th), Riedesel encamped with his army on the left shore of the lake, beyond the river Bouquet, at the same time detaching the corps of Breymann and the dragoon regiment to the opposite side of the river; the former for the protection of the right wing, and the latter for the left. Here bread was baked for four days.

In the afternoon of the next day the army again began its march. The weather was delightful, and it reached Bottom bay the same night. On the day following (the 26th) the army arrived at nine o'clock in the morning, at Crown point. Here General Riedesel surrendered the command to General Burgoyne. General Fraser immediately started again, and advanced to Putnam river, between Crown point and Carillon.[1] At this point the army was distributed in the following manner: The two English brigades, under General Phillips, occupied the plain around the fort at Crown point; the corps of Breymann the right shore of the lake near the wind mill; while General Riedesel, with the German brigade, was more to the left on the promontory called Chimney point. Orders were issued that each wing was to act independently of the other. The artillery was distributed among the two wings; and entrenchments for all

[1] Ticonderoga.

the regiments were made. Each wing received six six-pounders, and three three-pounders.

From prisoners and deserters it was ascertained that the enemy near Carillon numbered between three and four thousand men; that they were occupying at that place a fortified camp which they intended to hold; that everything around their camp had been cleared away; and that they were still working on the entrenchments. The deserters also stated that the Americans acted very cruelly toward those who did not embrace their cause, having only the day before hanged six loyalists.

Magazines were erected at Crown point, and the transport ships were unloaded; after which they returned to St. John to reload. The day previous, the fleet advanced as far as Putnam's river; but the army continued in its old position, while Burgoyne, who intended to attack the fortified camp of the Americans, sent the Indians in advance to get in their rear. But before he could successfully carry out his plan, he was forced to wait for his heavy artillery and the necessary ammunition.

On the 30th, General Fraser advanced toward Carillon, and encamped on Five Mile point, a distance of five English leagues from the fort. He lost no time in reconnoitring the enemy's camp, approaching so near it as to be fired at with cannon from the fort. The English quarter master general, Lieutenant Colonel Carleton, improved this opportunity to select the ground for the next encampment of the army.

Leaving a detachment of one staff officer and two hundred men near Crown point for the defense of the magazines, the army in their bateaux started again at five o'clock in the morning of July 1, in two divisions. The corps of General Phillips was on the right or west, and that of General Riedesel on the left or east side of the lake. The dragoons formed the advance guard of the whole army. Captain Fraser advanced with his Indians and Canadians, two miles beyond Brigadier Fraser's last camp near Five Mile point, and awaited the army

near Three Mile point. Brigadier Fraser advanced this day with his brigade to the latter place, while Captain Fraser took up a position to the right on the road to the saw mills. The fleet advanced as far as Three Mile point, almost within cannon shot of the rebel camp. The right wing of the army encamped on the spot where the brigade of Fraser had been, but the left wing, under Riedesel, encamped on the eastern shore opposite the right wing. The corps of ~~General~~ Breymann advanced on the same shore as far as the left wing of the fleet. From the flag ship, the Royal George, one could easily survey the enemy's position. The Americans were estimated at from four to five thousand men, consisting of twelve regiments divided into four brigades commanded by General St. Clair. The enemy's position was covered on the right flank by Fort Independence built on a considerable eminence, and fortified by three successive lines of fortifications. It was separated by water from Fort Carillon which lay on the opposite side and consisted of nothing but the old French works. Between the forts were four armed vessels, in front of which was a bridge connecting the two forts. In front of this bridge there was a very strong iron chain hanging across the water, which was intended to break the first assault of the British. To the left of Fort Carillon there was another fortification upon a hill covering the enemy's left, toward the saw mills. Fort Carillon was manned by one-half of the American force, which consisted of six regiments or two brigades; the third brigade was at Fort Independence; and the fourth was distributed outside of the fort. This was the position of the Americans when General Burgoyne arrived in front of Fort Carillon.

Up to noon of the 2d of July, all was quiet on the side of the Americans, but toward twelve o'clock they opened fire on Captain Fraser's corps which was nearest. At the same time a great commotion was observed in the enemy's camp, which seemed to indicate that they were about to evacuate a part of their entrenchments. General Fraser now received

orders to advance with his corps (which stood in the woods), on the entrenchments of the enemy. General Phillips also, moved more to the right and occupied the saw-mills. The Indians at first advanced with great courage against the fortifications of the enemy, but were received with spirit. Meanwhile, General Riedesel likewise moved forward with Breymann's corps and occupied a position in front of Fort Independence behind the river Petite Marie. The whole of the left wing was now pushed ahead to the position formerly occupied by Lieutenant Colonel Breymann. That officer was under fire, toward evening, from one of the water batteries of Fort Independence. This fire of the enemy, however, had no other effect than to wound one of his corps, and kill two of Fraser's artillerists. During the attack on the fortifications, the English lost in killed and wounded, only one officer and a few men. The Americans lost one officer, and about twenty men.

On the 3d, the enemy continued their cannonading; otherwise it was quiet on both sides. The floating battery arrived in the afternoon. A great deal was expected from this ram. Meanwhile, the Americans reenforced the entrenchments on their left wing with one battalion from Fort Independence. Captain Fraser, with his Indian and Canadian volunteers was sent to the left wing to strengthen the position of General Riedesel. The English, learning that a detachment, consisting of eight hundred men with ammunition and provisions, were on their way from New Hampshire to the fort, Captain Fraser was ordered to intercept them. The order, however, came too late; for the detachment had already arrived at the fort. At this point General Riedesel sent Captain Gerlach, with one hundred men, to reconnoitre, and find a road by means of which, the enemy's fort might be attacked in the rear.

On the 4th, Riedesel ordered his infantry to advance to a position between the two wings of his division and the corps of Breymann, that they might support the latter in case of need. In pursuance of an order from the commanding general, Gall's

brigade crossed to the western side of the lake, and occupied the former position of the English brigades, under General Phillips. The heavy guns on the radeau or floating battery were removed, the latter not being able to approach the fort on account of its great draught and its general unwieldiness. Captain Twiss of the engineers, selected a place where he posted two batteries to command the fort.

On the evening of the 5th, the enemy, after setting fire to the underbrush in their camp, were greatly alarmed lest the wind, which had begun to blow furiously, should drive the flames on to their magazines. General Riedesel no sooner noticed their alarm, than he had his troops at once embarked as if to make an attack; and General Burgoyne, at the same time, changed the position of his guns to support the assault. This caused the Americans to come out of the fort. Darkness, however, now came on, and Riedesel disembarked his troops and sent them back into camp. It had not been his intention to attack, but only to force the enemy to come out of their fortifications, and in this he succeeded. During the night, fire was noticed issuing from one of the enemy's magazines; and in the morning the English discovered to their surprise that the Americans had vacated their important position. Riedesel immediately embarked his men and took possession of Fort Independence, at the same time that General Fraser occupied Fort Carillon. Eighty large cannon, five thousand tons of flour, a great quantity of meat and provisions, fifteen thousand stand of arms, a large amount of ammunition, two hundred oxen, besides baggage and tents, were found in the two camps of the enemy.

It seems the more singular that the enemy should have left everything behind them when it is recollected that their camp was not surrounded, but that, on the contrary, the communication with New Hampshire was still open. Great fright and consternation must have prevailed in the enemy's camp, otherwise they would have taken time to destroy the stores and save something.

General Burgoyne, upon the fall of Carillon, issued the following order:

"Brigadier Fraser, with twenty companies of English grenadiers and light infantry shall march to Castletown [1] and Skeensborough [2] and attack the enemy who have retreated by land. General Riedesel with his corps of reserves, under Breymann, and the infantry regiment of Riedesel, shall follow the corps of Fraser and support it in case of attack. The fleet and the rest of the army, shall pursue their way to Skeensborough by water, and attack the fleet of the rebels and that part of their army which have taken their way thence by water."

General Riedesel, that he might lose no time, took a company of yägers and an advanced guard of eighty men from Breymann's corps and hastened on, leaving orders for the rest of this corps and his own regiment to follow on immediately. After marching fourteen English miles he overtook Brigadier Fraser with one-half his corps and agreed with him that he (Fraser) should, that same day, march three English miles further and there bivouac for the night; while he, himself, would also encamp for the night on the spot where he had caught up with him. It was further agreed that at three o'clock the next morning both corps should start together and continue their march to Skeensborough. In case General Fraser found the enemy too strong for him he was to wait for General Riedesel and thus offer a united front to the enemy.

In accordance with this arrangement, General Riedesel started on the 7th of July, at three o'clock in the morning, and, after marching four miles, met Captain McKay who had been sent by Fraser to inform him that he was on his march and would wait for him at Hubbardton. The general, surmising at once what the halt signified, hastened on as quickly as possible with his advance guard to overtake Fraser — the regiments that followed, in the meanwhile, continuing their march

[1] Castleton, Vt.
[2] Whitehall, N. Y.

at the usual speed. Riedesel, after marching about a quarter of an hour, heard a brisk firing of musketry. He, therefore, pushed forward with his advance guard with still greater rapidity, Captain Poellnitz being sent back to tell Lieutenant Colonel Breymann to follow on as quickly as possible.

In the meantime a second officer arrived from Fraser and reported to the Brunswick general that the former had met the enemy in such force that he would not be able to withstand him unless he was speedily reenforced. It was impossible, however, for Riedesel to hasten any faster. He, accordingly, sent word to Fraser that he was already on the way to his aid and would soon be with him. At last the Brunswick troops, after a rapid march of a quarter of an hour, arrived, terribly heated, upon an eminence from which could be seen the contending forces.

General Riedesel saw at a glance that the Americans were moving more and more toward the right with the evident intention of surrounding Fraser's left wing. He, therefore, resolved to out manœuvre them and get into their rear. Accordingly he ordered the company of yägers to advance to the attack, while the rest of the troops were to endeavor to fall upon the enemy's rear. In order to puzzle the enemy, and make him believe that his assailants were stronger than they really were, he ordered a band of music to precede the yägers. At this moment an aid arrived with a message from Fraser, to the effect that he feared his left wing would be surrounded. Riedesel sent word back to him that he was at that very instant about to attack the enemy's right wing.

The company of yägers advanced courageously upon the enemy, and were met by a brisk fire from four hundred men. Far, however, from shrinking, the Brunswickers did not flinch, but paid them back with interest. Under their brave leader, Captain Van Geyso, they advanced upon the enemy with fixed bayonets and to the sound of music. In twelve minutes they had beaten them completely, and captured twelve pieces. Captain Schottelius, at the head of the grenadiers, also attacked

the enemy at the same time, when seeing that they were partly surrounded, the Americans stopped fighting and retreated. General Fraser acknowledged that he would have been in great danger, had it not been for Riedesel's timely aid; for if reenforcements had not arrived just when they did, the whole corps would have been surrounded and cut off. Those of the Brunswickers who had followed, also hastened their march and arrived upon the same eminence just as the firing ceased.

The American forces on this occasion, consisted of four regiments commanded by Brigadier Francis. He fell, pierced by a German bullet, while leading the third attack on the left wing, and was buried by the Brunswick troops. This corps of Francis formed the rear guard of the American army in its retreat from Fort Carillon.

A few days after this event, Riedesel wrote to Duke Ferdinand in relation to this engagement, as follows:

"SKINSBURY,[1] *July* 11, 1777.

"Monseigneur: So tired that I can scarcely move, I send your excellency these few lines. In order to inform you of the great success which has attended our arms since July the 1st, I send your excellency, inclosed, the continuation of my journal.

"The great courage manifested by a handful of German troops in the engagement near Hubberton, and the good services they have rendered toward the successful termination of that action, will certainly please your excellency; and I can assure you, in all sincerity, that this occasion has given a good name to the Brunswick troops among the whole of the army. We shall continue our march from here to Fort Ann and Fort Edward. It is said that the enemy will raise another army of five thousand men. This army, however, will have no artillery, as all of their guns are in our hands. It is, therefore, to be supposed that the second engagement will take place at, or in the vicinity of Fort Edward. I recommend myself, etc.

"RIEDESEL."

[1] Probably Skeensborough.

After this engagement, General Riedesel posted his troops in the following manner: Barner's light infantry were placed upon the left wing of the English for the support of the yägers and grenadiers. The battalion of grenadiers and his own regiment were sent to the right of the English wing in order to guard the road leading to Skeensborough, as the army were now to march for that place.

While these events were taking place upon land, General Burgoyne was pursuing the enemy upon the water. In a few hours he destroyed the moorings near Carillon, on which the Americans had worked several months; and, by a few well directed cannon shots, he broke in two the collossal chain upon which so many hopes had been hung.

On the evening of the 6th of July, he encountered the ships of the enemy near Skeensborough, and destroyed them after a short engagement. Three of these the enemy burned, and two were captured. The fort at that place was then evacuated by the rebels, who retreated to Fort Anne. Lieutenant Colonel Hill with a detachment was thereupon sent by Burgoyne, to take this fort, but finding it too strongly fortified, and occupied by an American corps, he did not succeed. On the morning of the 8th, he was attacked by a superior force of Americans, and, after a long fight, was forced to retreat. In this engagement, both sides suffered considerable loss.

A great quantity of provisions, ammunition and other war material were found at Skeensborough. The army encamped there on the following day.

The corps both of Fraser and of Riedesel having had no provisions for four days, and being unable to obtain any from their ships it was agreed that Riedesel should march to Skeensborough, and Fraser should remain where he was until further orders had been received from Burgoyne in relation to the disposition of the wounded. At noon of the 8th of July, the Brunswickers accordingly marched to Skeensborough. Hitherto the first German brigade had been with General Burgoyne. The left

wing encamped on the left bank of Wood creek, and the right, on the right bank.

On the 9th, General Fraser arrived in the camp and took his position on the right wing. On the 10th, General Riedesel received orders to march with his corps. The first brigade was to encamp on the Castletown river. From here patrols were to be sent into the enemy's country to encourage the loyal Americans to take up arms on the side of the king.

On the 10th, General Burgoyne issued the following order:

ORDER FROM HEAD QUARTERS, JULY 10TH, 1777.

"The rebels evacuated Fort Ticonderoga on the 6th, having been forced into this measure by the presence of our army. On one side of the lake they ran as far as Skeensborough: on the other side as far as Hubberton. They left behind all their artillery, provisions and baggage.

"Brigadier Fraser, with one-half of his brigade and without artillery, met two thousand rebels strongly fortified; attacked and drove them from their position. The latter lost many of their officers. Two hundred were killed, more wounded, and three hundred captured. Major General Von Riedesel, with his advanced guard, consisting of the company of yägers (eighty men), light infantry and grenadiers, came up in time to support Brigadier Fraser; and by his judicious orders, and the bravery with which they were executed, he, as well as his troops, shared in the honor of the victory.

"On the 8th, Lieutenant Colonel Hill was attacked by the rebels at Fort Anne, and notwithstanding he was outnumbered six to one, he drove them off with great loss after a contest of three hours. In consequence of this affair, the rebels evacuated Fort Anne after setting it on fire. A detachment of our army now occupies it.[1]

"The rapid progress of our arms — for which we cannot sufficiently thank God — gives great honor to our troops. The

[1] The garrison consisted of one captain, one hundred men and two cannons.

GREATEST PRAISE is due General Von Riedesel and Brigadier Fraser, who by their bravery, supported by officers and soldiers, have rendered the greatest service to the king.

"The highest honor is due to the troops from the fact that in spite of the many fatigues they have undergone — through inclement weather, and without bread — they have never shown the least insubordination. THEREFORE, on next Sunday there shall be divine service in front of the army and the advance guard, and in the evening at sunset there shall be firing of cannon and small arms. This shall also be done at Ticonderoga, Crown point, the camp at Skeensborough, at Castletown and in the camp of Colonel Breymann. The commander of each regiment shall, himself, read this order to his regiment; and Major General Von Riedesel will see to it that this order shall be sent to the detached corps of the left wing. Brigadier Hamilton will send it to Crown point.

"BURGOYNE."

All the news, respecting the position of the enemy, indicated that they were in the vicinity of Fort Edward, under General Schuyler.

On the morning of the 12th, General Riedesel started with the corps of Breymann and the infantry regiment Riedesel. The troops were embarked and sailed through South bay and East creek as far as the latter was navigable. They then went on shore at the landing place, where the Hesse Hanau regiment, which had preceded them, was already encamped. The corps of Breymann continued its march on land as far as the sawmill near Castletown, where it bivouacked for the night. The next day it marched to Castletown, the regiment Riedesel remaining until the day after, when it marched to the camp of Brigadier Specht. This march was attended with extraordinary difficulties. It was impossible to procure horses; consequently all the tents and baggage had to be carried by the soldiers on their backs over a shockingly bad road. This tramp lasted for

five hours, and was partly the occasion of the brigade of Specht having to pass four, and the other regiments three, days in the woods, without tents. On his arrival at 11 A. M. in the camp of Brigadier Specht, General Riedesel sent out a party of troops to collect wagons and horses, which were to be employed in transporting the baggage and other army supplies. In addition, also, to the above grievances a great many of the troops in camp, especially of the regiments of Specht and Rhetz, were suffering from dysentery.

On the 14th, Riedesel inspected the camp of Specht and Breymann, and made a few alterations here and there in the distribution of the out posts. Foreseeing, also, that during the long and tiresome marches, which the army would have to undergo, the lack of facilities for transportation would be often felt, Riedesel ordered, that all officers should provide themselves with horses on which to carry their own personal equipage — the latter to consist of as few articles as possible.

On the 15th, General Riedesel was ordered to Ticonderoga to superintend the removal of the ships to Lake George. Of the two regiments yet remaining at Ticonderoga — the 62d English and Prince Frederick's — one-half of each, under the command of Colonel Amstruther, and Major Von Hiller, was to cover the removal. The same day Riedesel received intelligence that a corps of the enemy numbering between four and five thousand men, under Colonel Warner, was near Manchester. It was also reported that the latter was using his utmost exertions to rally the militia in the vicinity, and thus strengthen his own corps. Owing, however, to the fact that Colonel Skene, the governor of the province,[1] was desirous of having him accompany him to Castletown to aid in making a list of all the loyal inhabitants, he could do nothing for the present against Warner.

---

[1] This Colonel Skene was royal governor of Crown point, Ticonderoga and those townships and forts in New York and New Hampshire which bordered on Lakes Champlain and George and the Hudson river.— *Note to the German edition.*

About four hundred inhabitants from different townships came into Castletown and took the oath of allegiance in due form, each one receiving a certificate to that effect. A large number of these people were not in earnest in taking this oath. They had only come that they might find out the names of those who were truly loyal and afterwards betray them. They went, therefore, immediately back to their comrades and told them all they had seen and heard. No sooner had Colonel Warner heard the report of these spies, than he at once advanced, plundered the loyalists, took away their cattle, and even carried off the men themselves. Riedesel, who had promised to protect them, immediately dispatched Captain Willoe to head quarters as the bearer of a plan to Burgoyne, in which he proposed to attack the traitors at once, and take from them what cattle and vehicles might be necessary for the use of his troops.

The English general had no objections to the plan; still he would not consent to its execution, pretending that he intended soon to make a move with his whole army. But although the German general's hands were thus tied, he determined at least to make any future operations of the enemy difficult. He, therefore, sent a detachment of seventy men to Tinmouth, and another to Wells — riding himself toward Rutland and Wells for the purpose of reconnoitering. The detachment sent to Wells returned on the evening of the 19th, and reported that Colonel Warner had returned to Manchester, and that those of the inhabitants who had fallen under suspicion of disloyalty, had left their houses, taking their furniture and most of their stock with them. Nevertheless the detachment brought in a few heads of cattle, and carts with the teams belonging to them.

The day previous, the two partisans, St. Luke and Lancelot, arrived at head quarters with one thousand Indians and some Canadian volunteers. On the same day, Riedesel learned that the long expected ship, having on board recruits from Europe, had arrived at Three Rivers. General Phillips, also, returned the same day from Ticonderoga.

On the 20th, the other detachment returned, having been within a mile and a half of Colonel Warner's camp. They brought with them four prisoners, and about sixty head of cattle. Colonel Warner was so alarmed at the sudden appearance of this detachment, that he immediately evacuated Manchester, and retreated to Arlington.

On the 21st, General Burgoyne went on a reconnoitering expedition by way of Forts Anne and Edward in order to ascertain the position of the enemy in that vicinity. He wrote to General Riedesel to move in a few days with his army in the direction of those forts; telling him, also, that he might expect more particular directions from him on his (Burgoyne's) arrival at Fort Anne. Riedesel was at this time suffering severely from an ulcerated tooth and a raging fever. But, although confined to his room, he was not idle. He apportioned the new recruits among the different regiments, in order that there might be no confusion when they should arrive; for at present they were to remain in Canada until they had learned the drill. The recruits were apportioned as follows:

	Men.
To the regiment of Dragoons,	25
" " " " Prince Frederick,	39
" " " " Rhetz,	32
" " " " Riedesel,	35
" " " " Specht,	26
" " " " Barner,	65
Total,	222

The grenadier battalion of Breymann received men from the other regiments as follows:

	Men.
From the regiment Prince Frederick,	6
" " " Rhetz,	5
" " " Riedesel,	9
" " " Specht,	5

In pursuance of an order from the duke, those men, only, who had already served one year and a half and had a certain height, were to be taken for this battalion.

The order on this subject, under date of July 19th, says that "men must be selected who are thoroughly reliable, and of such strength and appearance as will answer for grenadiers." Riedesel issued strict orders in regard to the conduct of the troops toward the inhabitants and their property. Inasmuch, also, as there were a large number of loyal inhabitants scattered through the country, who were often taken for rebels, the strictest orders had to be issued lest the soldiers should treat them as such. In one of these orders, under date of July 22, the following passage occurs: "Breaking into houses, plundering and similar excesses will be punished; if the first offense, by whipping, and, if the second, by running the gauntlet." And at the end of this order, of which the colonel of each regiment received a copy, it further says: "In order to avoid all misunderstanding respecting the treatment of the inhabitants by those detachments that are sent out from time to time, and to avoid all marauding, this order is given to you. You will be able to judge best what is legitimate booty, and whether or not it can be allowed to the soldier."

At noon of the 24th, Riedesel received orders to march with the left wing to Skeensborough; but the soldiers, being at that moment in the act of cooking their dinner, he allowed them first to finish it. Upon the reception of the orders, however, he sent a message to the battalion of grenadiers and the brigade of Specht, telling them to start for the landing place, and be ready for embarkation the following day. The regiment Hanau, which had remained up to this time at the latter place for the protection of the ships and baggage, also received orders to embark, and arrived at the appointed time at Skeensborough. When the German troops reached there on the 25th, the right wing of the army, under General Phillips, had already started and was encamped near Gordon's house. General Fraser started as early as the 22d for this place, his departure being hastened

by intelligence that the Americans had evacuated Fort Edward on the 21st. He, therefore, hastened on in advance to occupy it. At Skeensborough, Riedesel met Burgoyne and held a consultation with him in regard to the advance of the army.

Great discouragement must have prevailed at this time in the army of General Schuyler; for many deserters now came into the English army, while others ran away to their homes. Many had been forced into the American ranks, and these naturally took the first opportunity to escape.

On the 26th, Riedesel sent back the vessels to Ticonderoga with the sick and superfluous baggage. The sick were to remain in the hospital at that place, and the ships and baggage were to be transported by Canadians to Lake George, and thence to Fort Edward on the Hudson river. Those Brunswick officers, who were deputed to bring back from Canada the new recruits, also returned on these vessels.

As it was impossible for teams to make any progress on the road from Skeensborough to Fort Anne, two English vessels were laden with the baggage and sent up Wood creek to that fort. The troops marched on that day as far as Gordon's house, and thence to Fort Anne. An English detachment, under Major Irving, and fifty Germans, remained at Skeensborough for the purpose of facilitating the transportation on Wood creek.

General Fraser, upon arriving in the vicinity of Fort Edward, found that the report of the Americans having evacuated that place was unfounded. They were still in possession, but retreated on the appearance of the English. The Indians who were in advance, went within cannon shot of the fort, when a severe, but ineffectual firing took place. They returned, bringing with them eight prisoners unscalped. General Burgoyne established his head quarters at Fort Edward on the 31st of July. General Riedesel, who also went there on the same day,[1] describes the

[1] General Riedesel was in great danger of being captured this day, but fortunately escaped. A patrol of the enemy endeavored to way-lay him in the woods, but just

position of the Americans as a very advantageous one. Meanwhile, General Phillips — having accomplished the removal of the stores and artillery from Ticonderoga — had arrived at Fort George, and was busily engaged in building a road from that fort to Fort Edward.

The Americans, who had in the meantime retreated as far as Schuyler's island, left there on this day (the 31st) and retreated to Half Moon,[1] twelve miles this side of Albany. They were led by General Arnold, the one who had lost the engagement on Lake Champlain. He superseded General Schuyler, who had been summoned to appear before congress. It was believed that General Arnold would unite with General Washington, who was then at the highlands, and that this movement would be the last effort of the rebels, who were already looked upon as lost. It was, therefore, determined that as soon as the vessels should arrive, and the detachment[2] return, the march of annihilation should be continued southward.

On the 1st day of August, General Riedesel celebrated the birthday of his sovereign at Fort Anne, with as much ceremony as circumstances would permit.

By the 3d of August, a sufficient number of teams had been collected to enable a few regiments to begin the march. The battalion of grenadiers started first, and encamped near Fort Edward to the left of the corps of Fraser. The regiments Specht and Riedesel left Fort Anne on the 4th; and the same day, the regiment Rhetz was ordered to march to the Ritschfield plains between Fort Edward and Fort Anne, and relieve the 21st English regiment. On the same day, an official dispatch was received from General Howe, in which he communicated several things of importance to General Burgoyne. The latter, however, kept the news so secret that nothing could be

---

as they were on the point of accomplishing their object, a party of Indians — also out on a scout — suddenly made their appearance, forcing the rebels to retreat.

[1] The present town of Crescent in Saratoga county.

[2] I. e., the one that had been left at Skeensborough, Whitehall.

learned except that Howe was close to General Washington who occupied a fortified position in the highlands. It was therefore supposed that a general engagement between the two armies would soon take place. The news of the retreat of the Americans from Saratoga to Stillwater was also received at this time Nor were the Indians idle. They attacked a detachment of the enemy, killed twenty, and captured ten men.

Several desertions having occurred in the English army, Burgoyne ordered the Indians to pursue and scalp all that they should capture.

On the 9th, Brigadier Powell was ordered to take with him the 53d Regiment and relieve Brigadier Hamilton at Ticonderoga: at the same time the 62d was ordered to rejoin the army. The company of Canadian militia, under Boucherville, was to remain for the present at Fort George. The regiment Prince Frederick was still stationed at Ticonderoga.

On the same day, Fraser, with his advance corps, started again and encamped near Fort Miller, seven miles from Fort Edward. Lieutenant Colonel Baum followed with the dragoon regiment, with which soon afterward were incorporated the Brunswick regiment of light infantry, a detachment of Canadian volunteers and two cannons. Altogether they numbered five hundred men. With this force he was to go on an expedition in the direction of the Connecticut river. The object of this expedition was peculiar, namely, to procure good horses from the inhabitants, on which to mount the dragoons. Besides this, it was hoped that thirteen hundred additional horses could be obtained from the same source, to be used in transporting the baggage. Connecticut, new at that time, was one of the most flourishing states in North America, and made a special business of breeding excellent cattle and horses.

On the 10th, Riedesel received authentic news from General Howe's army. According to the intelligence received, that general had rallied his troops in June near Fort Knyphausen, evacuated the province of Jersey, and sent Clinton with a strong

advance guard toward the highlands, where Washington was encamped. He had also sent a few frigates up the Hudson for the purpose of making the enemy believe that he was meditating an attack at that point. General Washington, believing this, went into a fortified camp. As soon as Howe heard of the success of his ruse, he threw off all disguise, embarked his army under a favorable wind, and entered the Delaware river. Washington did not learn of this movement until a week after, when he at once evacuated his fortified position, and leaving Putnam in the highlands to watch Clinton, retreated into Pennsylvania with the intention of preventing the further advance of Howe. Meanwhile, four English frigates attempted to sail up the narrow passage of the Hudson through the highlands and reach Albany. At the same time, Howe detached another body of troops up the Connecticut river with orders to advance as far as Springfield, and then march parallel with the Canadian army, provided the latter had reached Albany.

In the meantime, General Burgoyne resolved to capture the magazine at Bennington. The conduct of this expedition was intrusted to Colonel Baum, who was ordered not to march by way of Manchester, as had been at first considered advisable, but direct to Bennington. General Riedesel took the liberty of calling attention to the dangers connected with this undertaking, Bennington being at too great a distance, and the enemy too near it. But the English commander was not a man to be dissuaded by any one from any project he had determined upon. General Riedesel, therefore, seeing that Burgoyne's purpose could not be changed, did his best to prepare the detachment for the march as quickly as possible. They were rendezvoused at Fort Miller; and Brigadier Fraser being unable to furnish his quota of men, General Riedesel completed it by detaching one hundred men from the corps of Breymann.

As the motives of this unsuccessful expedition have been described by the historians of the North American war in such a contradictory manner, we take the liberty of giving them *verbatim* as we find them in General Riedesel's journal. He says:

"Lieutenant Colonel Baum marched to-day (11th), from Fort Miller to the Battenkill. General Burgoyne rode up to him to give him further instructions. As the said general had received intelligence that there was a magazine of considerable importance at Bennington defended only by a small body of militia, he countermanded the instructions he had previously given Baum, and ordered him, instead of marching to Manchester and thence to Bennington, to take the direct road, attack the enemy and capture the magazine. General Burgoyne informed General Riedesel, upon the latter's return from Fort George, of the alteration in his plan respecting the expedition under Lieutenant Colonel Baum. General Riedesel expressed his fear and astonishment in regard to the danger attending it. General Burgoyne, however, considered the change in the plan necessary for the following reasons: 1st. It would be of great advantage to the army to gather their subsistence from the captured magazine of the enemy, until supplies could be transported to the army sufficient to last for four weeks. 2d. In case he should move with his whole army against the enemy near Stillwater, General Arnold would not be able to send a strong force against Colonel Baum. 3d. That he had received intelligence that Colonel St. Leger was besieging Fort Stanwix, and that Arnold intended to send a considerable force to the relief of this place; therefore, it was of the greatest importance that a detachment of the left wing should make a move and thus intimidate the enemy, and prevent him from sending this force against St. Leger. These three reasons overruled the representations of General Riedesel."

Bennington is situated between the two arms of the Hoosick river, about twenty-four miles east of the Hudson. The road

thither was very bad, and led through dense woods. A royalist, who knew the road, and offered to guide Lieutenant Colonel Baum, also called the attention of Burgoyne to the dangers connected with this expedition, and stated that at least three thousand men were necessary, as the Americans would exert themselves to the utmost to hold their position. But in spite of all this, it was destined that the expedition should start.

On the 12th of August, Lieutenant Colonel Baum marched from the Battenkill to Cambridge,[1] at which place he met a detachment of the enemy, which he attacked and defeated, capturing a few supplies and eight prisoners.[2]

On the 13th, Baum reported to Burgoyne that he had heard the magazine at Bennington was defended by between fifteen and eighteen hundred militia men; but, on account of their disaffection, he believed they would evacuate the fort upon his appearance. He would, therefore, at once march upon the enemy. General Burgoyne, very much pleased with his report, immediately consented, with the understanding, however, that he was not to make the attack until he had thoroughly acquainted himself with the position of the enemy. In order to make the attack successfully, Baum determined to halt four miles this side of Bennington, and carry out the advice of his commanding general. Lieutenant Colonel Breymann marched on this day from Fort Edward to Douart's house; while Fraser, who was to advance as far as Saratoga, started in advance. On the 14th, the army began to advance from Douart's house.

At six o'clock on the morning of the 15th, General Burgoyne received a report from Lieutenant Colonel Baum, dated the

---

[1] The present town of Cambridge in Washington county, N. Y.

[2] Stedman, in his *History of the American War*, part 1, p. 417, states that Baum captured on the first day an American corps, which was released the following day by Colonel Skene, under the impression that this act of magnanimity would influence the released Americans to take no further part against their king. He adds that these very ones fought the hardest against the English at Bennington. No mention, however, of this circumstance is made either in Riedesel's journals or in the report of Baum.—*Note in original.*

14th, in which he stated that his advance guard, on its march to Bennington, had been attacked by a corps of the enemy numbering about seven hundred men, but after a few cannon shot had been fired they had retreated. He also said that, from prisoners and loyalists he had learned that a body of eighteen hundred men were in camp near Bennington, favorably situated and fortified, and who were only waiting for additional reenforcements to meet and attack him. He, therefore, asked for reenforcements. Burgoyne immediately instructed Riedesel to send Lieutenant Colonel Breymann to his support. Riedesel, who was much troubled in regard to the entire movement, asked and obtained permission of Burgoyne, to give Breymann a few suggestions. The latter set out at once, leaving the tents, baggage and superfluous ammunition. A rain that had fallen for several days, made the roads, which were already miserable, even worse; and this circumstance, added to the lack of horses for the transportation of artillery, forced Breymann, after a short march, to bivouac seven miles this side of Cambridge. He, therefore, dispatched a few men to Baum to notify him of his advance. The latter had been again attacked on this same day, but was able to repulse the enemy with his artillery; and having confidence in his position, and expecting speedy reenforcements, he resolved to stand his ground. Toward nine o'clock, on the morning of the 16th, small bodies of armed men made their appearance from different directions. These men were mostly in their shirt sleeves. They did not act as if they intended to make an attack; and Baum, being told by the provincial, who had joined his army on the line of march, that they were all loyalists and would make common cause with him, suffered them to encamp on his side and rear.[1] Shortly after another force of the rebels arrived and attacked his rear; but, with the aid of artillery, they were again repulsed. After a little

[1] This confidence, perhaps, was the first, and chief false step which caused the defeat at Bennington, and consequently the defeat of Burgoyne. This is an entirely new revelation.

while a stronger body made their appearance and attacked more vigorously. This was the signal for the seeming royalists, who had encamped on the side and rear of the army, to attack the Germans; and the result was, that Baum suddenly found himself cut off from all his detached posts. For over two hours he withstood the sallies and fire of the enemy — his dragoons, to a man, fighting like heroes — but at last, his ammunition being used up, and no reenforcements arriving, he was obliged to succumb to superior numbers and retreat. The enemy seemed to spring out of the ground; indeed, they were estimated at between four and five thousand men. Twice the brave dragoons succeeded in breaking a road through the enemy's ranks; for, upon their ammunition giving out, Baum ordered that they should hang their carbines over their shoulders, and trust to their swords; but bravery was now in vain, and the heroic leader, himself severely wounded, was forced to surrender with his dragoons. Meanwhile, the Indians and provincials had taken flight, and sought safety in the forest.

Lieutenant Colonel Breymann, who had again started early on the morning of the 16th, reached the bridge of St. Luke at three o'clock in the afternoon. Here he met Governor Skene, who assured him that he was only two miles distant from Lieutenant Colonel Baum. Skene, however, not informing him of the events that had occurred he continued his march as quickly as possible, notwithstanding his troops were greatly fatigued. Scarcely, however, had he advanced fifteen hundred paces on the bridge, when he saw a strongly armed force occupying an eminence toward the west. Governor Skene assured him that this force were not rebels; but Breymann, not satisfied with this assurance, sent ahead a patrol toward the eminence, who were immediately received with a volley of musketry. Upon perceiving how the case stood, he at once ordered Major Barner to advance upon the eminence, sent his grenadiers to the right, put the guns of both regiments into position, and directed the fire upon a log-house occupied by the enemy. The Germans

drove the Americans across three hills; but their ammunition soon giving out, they were obliged to cease from the pursuit. The enemy, guessing the cause of the halt, in their turn once more advanced; upon which Breymann, relying solely upon the darkness, which was fast coming on, to save himself, halted his men opposite the enemy, and remained there till it was perfectly dark. He then, under cover of the darkness, retreated across the bridge, but was obliged to leave his cannon. At twelve o'clock at night he arrived with his fatigued corps, at Cambridge, and reached the army on the Battenkill on the 17th.[1]

General Burgoyne received the news of the unfortunate termination of both engagements at three o'clock on the morning of the 17th. He immediately consulted with General Riedesel, and resolved to start with the entire army and save, if possible, one or the other corps. Captain Gerlach was, thereupon, sent to find Breymann and tell him to rejoin the army, which was on its way for his relief, under the command of Riedesel. While on his way, however, to the relief of these corps, he received orders from Burgoyne to take up a position on the Battenkill. Here he received news from Breymann that he had escaped with his corps, and was within six miles of the Battenkill. Riedesel immediately reported this intelligence to Burgoyne, who ordered him to return again to his former camp.

General Burgoyne, after these events, saw plainly that he could not advance without supplies; and, accordingly, he deter-

---

[1] The missing officers were Lieutenant Colonel Baum, Major Von Maiborn: captains of cavalry, Von Fricke, Von Reineking, Von Schlagenteuffel, Jun.; Lieutenants Von Reckrodt, Von Bottimer; Cornets Schoenewald, Graesse, Stutzer; Adjutant Boera, Quartermaster Gerfecke, Chaplain Mulzagine, Auditor Thomas, and Lieutenant Von Reichenfeld. The dragoon regiment which suffered so severely in this engagement consisted of four squadrons. According to a report by Adjutant Cleve, dated August 26, 1777, the regiment should have numbered 20 officers, 33 non-commissioned officers, 8 musicians, 246 privates and 20 servants. The number now was 5 officers, 5 non-commissioned officers, 2 musicians, 77 privates and 14 servants. Missing, therefore, 15 officers, 28 non-commissioned officers, 6 musicians, 169 privates and 6 servants.

mined to remain for the present at Douart's house. At the same time, however, he entrusted to Riedesel the duty of maintaining communication with Fort Anne and Fort George. The latter, therefore, having with him the German regiments of Rhetz and Hesse Hanau, and the 47th English regiment with six guns of heavy calibre, broke up camp on the 18th, marched to Fort Edward, where he rallied his troops, and, on the 19th, arrived at John's farm and took up a position in a fortified camp.

The English, as usual, endeavored to lay the entire blame of the ill success of this expedition upon the Germans. Burgoyne had merely made a mistake in selecting only Germans for the attack on Bennington, since, in their opinion, they not only marched too slow but carried too much baggage. The English said that the hats and swords of the dragoons were as heavy as the whole equipment of a British soldier. It is true that justice was done to the bravery of Colonel Baum, but they also said that he did not possess the least knowledge of the country, its people, or its language. But who selected him for this expedition?

After the unsuccessful affair near Bennington, Riedesel returned on the 18th of August, and took his family — which had now arrived from Germany — to John's farm. The general occupied a building called the Red House, in which, notwithstanding the smallness of its size, he made himself comfortable with his wife and children. From the time of marching he was obliged to provide for his suite. His staff adjutants and officers ate with him at the same table. As the Red House contained only one room and a bed-chamber they dined out of doors in a barn, where tables and chairs were improvised for the occasion by boards laid across barrels. Provisions being scarce they often had bear meat. Madam Riedesel never had

cooked any such meat before, but she describes it as being very palatable, especially the paws.[1]

General Riedesel, having been ordered to hold this place, had it fortified as far as he was able, and caused the magazines at Fort Anne to be removed thither as he thought that place could not be held. At that same time a few magazines were erected at Saratoga, and supplied with rations sufficient to last the troops three weeks.

There were still eighty Brunswick dragoons with the army; this number being all that was left of the regiment. Riedesel, desirous of having them mounted as soon as possible, began by mounting thirty men; for no more horses than that number could be had for the present. Meanwhile, almost all of the Indians had left for their homes, while the army was standing still. Very likely they did not find things as they expected, especially European discipline, which did not at all suit them. The excuse they gave was, that they must gather their harvest. They were chiefly of use to the army because the Americans wished to avail themselves of their services and their propensity for scalping. Indeed, as the Indians were mainly used as guards at the outposts, the rebels hardly ever dared to come near them, well knowing that the wild men were very cunning, and their eyes and ears very acute. This is proved by the fact that as soon as they had left, the enemy began to molest the outposts, and became very troublesome.

The army being now provided with the most necessary articles, an advance was ordered. All the heavy baggage of the different regiments was sent back to Ticonderoga on the 1st of September. Those articles, however, which might be more needed, were only sent back as far as Diamond island in Lake George — seven miles from Fort George — that they might be close at hand in case of need. At the same time two companies

[1] For a more detailed account of the sojourn of the general and his family at the Red House, as well as for a history of the latter — an historical land-mark — see *The Letters and Journals of Mrs. General Riedesel.*

of the 47th Regiment were sent with them as a garrison; only thirty men and one officer being left at Fort George, as the communication with that lake was to be given up for the present. In pursuance with this plan the two companies of the 53d Regiment, which had been hitherto stationed at Fort George, were sent to Ticonderoga to reenforce that post.

Meanwhile, the Americans troubled the outposts more and more. A few men, who had strayed beyond them, were captured; and, on the 1st of September, an outpost of twenty Canadians and provincials was taken directly on Fraser's front. To put a stop to these proceedings and replace the Indians in some measure, General Fraser, on the 2d of September, issued an order that one non-commissioned officer and sixteen men should be furnished by each regiment to form a corps of yägers — this body to be led by Captain Fraser.

On the 3d, Riedesel left Fort George[1] for the purpose of expediting the transports for the army. On his arrival, he found a document from the American General Gates, and also a few letters and lists written by Captain O'Connell, who had been taken prisoner near Bennington. These papers were brought by Cornet Graef. Through them, the general learned the particulars of that engagement. Lieutenant Colonel Baum had died of his wounds two days after his capture, and been buried at Bennington with all military honors. Captain Reineking of the dragoons and Lieutenant Amiers of the grenadier battalion, had also died of their wounds at Bennington; Lieutenant Boera and Cornet Stutzer were severely, and Chaplain Melzheimer, Lieutenant Gebhard and Ensign Specht slightly wounded; and Ensigns Muchlenfield and Hagemann were shot. More than

[1] Fort George is still in a tolerable state of preservation, being, indeed, the best preserved of the revolutionary fortifications (excepting, perhaps, Fort Putnam) in existence. It lies almost sixty rods southeast of the present Fort William Hotel at Caldwell, Lake George. It was built to take the place of old Fort William Henry which was erected by Sir William Johnson and afterwards destroyed by Montcalm, in 1757. It was never the scene of an engagement, and was only used as a depot for military stores and as a connecting link between Ticonderoga and Fort Edward.

one hundred of the Brunswickers, who had been severely wounded, were in the hospital at Bennington, and were well taken care of. Those who were at Albany had been taken northeast in the vicinity of Boston. The general also learned that of the eleven companies sent from England, seven had reached the army the same day (the 3d), and had been distributed among the different regiments.

Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger, who had been sent some time since to the Mohawk river, was at first successful; but the Americans, after their victory at Bennington taking fresh courage, and a strong American detachment advancing from Half Moon to Fort Stanwix, he was forced to relinquish all hopes of its capture; and, after burying his cannon, he left the Mohawk and retreated to Oswego. The Hesse Hanau yägers together with a corps of Indians were with him. But upon his raising the siege, many of the latter left him and returned to their homes. About two hundred of them, however, reached the army on the 3d of September and offered their services, which were very welcome to the commanding general. As the captured Brunswick officers were in need of money, clothing and linen, Riedesel sent them one hundred guineas, besides other necessaries. The English surgeon, Wood, was selected to carry these articles to the prisoners, and Burgoyne ordered him, at the same time, to take along with him his instruments, medicines, etc., and pay special attention to the wounded.

On the 7th, Burgoyne learned from an American deserter that the army, under General Gates, numbered between fourteen and fifteen thousand men; also, that that general was preparing to meet the royal Canadian army and attack it. The inhabitants of Albany had already received orders to drive their cattle into the back country, that the army of the enemy might be deprived of the means of subsistence should it reach that point.

Three of the best generals served under Gates, viz: Schuyler, Arnold and Lincoln; of the brigadiers were mentioned

Glover, Stark and Whipple. The main army of the Americans was near Stillwater in a very advantageous position; while another corps of six thousand men was at Half Moon, at the junction of the Mohawk and Hudson [1] rivers — a very favorable situation for the support of the main body.

On the 9th of September the artillery of the left wing, with the 47th Regiment, marched from John's farm [2] to Fort Edward. The same day, Burgoyne issued orders that the army should march the next day; but hearing that the advance corps of the enemy was on the other side of the Hudson this side of the Fishkill,[3] he countermanded it.

At seven o'clock on the morning of the 10th, Riedesel started for Fort Edward with the rest of the left wing consisting of the regiments of Rhetz and Hesse Hanau. He had previously sent ahead a sufficient number of men with the light infantry to construct a pontoon bridge across the Hudson.[4] These troops took up a position this side the Fishkill on the 10th. They were under Captains Fraser, Monin, Boucherville, and Colonels Petersen and Yessop [5] of the provincials. Upon the approach of this body the enemy retreated, and immediately the advance corps of Brigadier Fraser and the reserved corps, under Brey-

---

[1] The Cohoes.

[2] The present half way house between Glens Falls and Lake George, known as Brown's.

[3] The present Fish creek, the outlet of Lake Saratoga.

[4] The Brunswick *Journal* states, that as early as the 19th of August, a bridge was first made *above* the present Saratoga Falls or rapids; but upon a better place being found lower down it was broken up and a new one built *below* the rapids.

The exact place where the British crossed the Hudson was just below the Saratoga Falls, two miles above Schuylerville, about eighty rods northwest of the present residence of Abraham Yates Rogers. The entrenchments which were at that time thrown up to cover the passage of the river, are still to be seen very plainly. They are three hundred feet in length and from four to six feet in height, but are (1867) overgrown with scrub pines. Mr. Rogers, whose grandfather lived on the farm at the time, states that within thirty years the wooden platforms for the cannon were in existence behind the entrenchment. The survey for the rail road from Union village to Saratoga Springs, was through the entrenchments.

[5] Probably Colonel Jessop, after whom Jessop Falls on the Hudson river above Glens Falls, are named.

mann, advanced to a point this side of the bridge. On the opposite bank of the river a small fort was erected for the defense of the bridge, and the protection of a few supplies deposited there. On the same day the artillery of the left wing, and Lieutenant Colonel Amstruther, with the 62d Regiment, reached the army.

On the 11th, the entire army started from Douart's [1] house and took up a position close in the rear of the reserved corps of Breymann in the immediate vicinity of the bridge — all the artillery being sent to the left wing of the English regiments. Upon this, the rebel army retreated behind its advance guard, leaving Saratoga altogether. They sent, however, some detachments close to the English camp, and thus obliged the corps of Fraser and Breymann to remain the whole night under arms, and Burgoyne to throw up some entrenchments with the utmost haste. This day, Riedesel was very much occupied in transporting stores from Fort George to Fort Edward, whence they were carried down the Hudson.

Riedesel at first designed sending his family back into Canada; but was dissuaded by the prayers of his wife, who begged to be permitted to follow his fortunes the same as the other officers' wives. The ladies followed in carriages a day's march behind the army, and got along as well as they could. General Burgoyne was so certain of victory that the ladies were in high spirits. When leaving, the vain man, with the utmost confidence, exclaimed, "Britons never retreat!" The prudent Madame Riedesel, however, was very much disgusted at Burgoyne's never keeping his plans to himself; for all the ladies knew in advance what was to be done, and thus the enemy was always kept well informed by his spies.

On the morning of the 12th, Riedesel, with the regiments of Rhetz and Hesse Hanau, left Fort Edward, to take up a position

[1] By some called Duer's house. This building stood in the present village of Fort Miller on the east side of the Hudson, about two miles and a half above where the troops crossed the river.

near Douart's house. The two English regiments, the 47th and 62d, departed at the same time and united with the army.

At ten o'clock on the morning of the 13th, Riedesel with his regiments again started and reached the left wing of the army the same day. The corps of Fraser also started the same day at seven in the morning and crossed the bridge,[1] taking a position on an eminence this side of the Fishkill.[2] The reserves of Breymann followed at nine o'clock, covering the left wing of Fraser's corps. After crossing the bridge the artillery remained on the Hudson; the 9th, 20th, 21st and 62d Regiments encamped on the plain near the river between the barracks[3] and the Fishkill; and the six companies of the 47th, covered the bateaux on the right bank of the river. All the German troops of the left wing remained on this side of the river. The hos-

---

[1] The Brunswick *Journal*, in speaking of the passage of this bridge, says; "The *avant-guarde*, under Fraser was the first to march over. At nine o'clock the reserve under Lieutenant Colonel Breymann followed after them, in order to cover, in the first place, Fraser's left flank. The Germans who formed the left wing of the army went over last of all. As soon as the last man had crossed the bridge it was broken up. They had passed the *Rubicon*, and all further communication with Canada was now cut off. The army which, on first setting off from there, was 10,000 strong, had already diminished to 6,000, and even these were provided with provisions not only scant in quantity, but bad in quality.

When the army had crossed the river, those of the Brunswick dragoons, that were left, were mounted. These amounted to only some *twenty* men, and now formed the *entire cavalry of the army*, and even these few were very poorly equipped."

[2] The high ridge directly west of the Schuyler mansion now owned by Mr. Strover, whose father was in the battle of Saratoga, and assisted in the execution of Lovelace the tory. The translator is under much obligation to both Mr. Strover and his son-in-law, Dr. C. H. Payne, for their assistance in pointing out to him the localities.

Schuyler's house (so says the manuscript journals of the German officers) was *between* the old village of Saratoga and the Fishkill. This fact is of *great* importance in locating the old village, which, by the way, at best consisted of only a few scattered houses.

[3] These barracks were located on the north side of the road to Saratoga Springs, directly upon the present site of the red barns of the Hon. Alonzo Welsh of Schuylerville, who (1867) resides a few rods east of the barns on the main village street. The barracks were standing and occupied by a farmer up to within twenty years. In March, 1867, Mr. Welsh, while ploughing back of his barns came across the burying place of the hospital. The bones thus exhumed he carefully reburied.

pital was at the barrack, and General Burgoyne took up his head quarters in a house on the other side of the Fishkill belonging to General Schuyler. The head quarters were guarded by two hundred men.

The hills around Saratoga were so covered with woods and underbrush that it was impossible to place the army in a position to withstand an attack from the enemy. All of the generals carefully inspected the hills nearest to the camp, and agreed upon a position in case of the enemy making their appearance. All the colonels were notified of this. The situation of the army, moreover, was rendered additionally precarious by the fact that it was separated by the river, and was thus obliged to be constantly on its guard. New embankments were therefore thrown up, and strong outposts placed in every direction, especially on the side toward Bennington. Meanwhile, the Americans had retreated into their fortified camp near Stillwater, distant about six miles from the English army. They had not disturbed the latter on the passage up the river. General Burgoyne burned with impatience to advance on the enemy. Accordingly, the very moment that all the baggage had crossed the bridge, and the fact was told him, he gave orders at eleven o'clock on the morning of the 13th, that, at one o'clock, the army should advance. The corps of Brigadier Fraser formed the advance guard; then followed the army in three columns. The four English regiments, under Brigadier Hamilton, and constituting the first column, were to march toward the right. The second column was made up of all the artillery. The German troops, as the third column, were to march to Stillwater and remain on the west side of the Hudson. The baggage was to remain in the rear, and the hospital and supplies to follow after the heavy artillery, under the escort of six companies of the 47th Regiment. The corps of Breymann was ordered to remain on the bridge and to destroy it as soon as the left wing had crossed over. Henceforth, this corps was to form the rear guard of the whole army. The regiments began the advance at the sound

of music, in the best of spirits. The entire army defiled in front of General Burgoyne who was on the other side of the river with his suite. In consequence of the road being in bad condition, the order for marching was altered, so that the whole of the infantry formed only one column, while marching on the shore of the river. But shortly before reaching the new camp the army marched in two columns. The centre of the army soon came to Dovogat's house which the commander in chief at once selected as his head quarters. The left wing rested on the Hudson; the right on marshy ground; the front was covered by the Cummings kill which here empties into the river. Fraser, with his corps, was with the right wing; and the regiment of Rhetz and the 47th English were so placed in the left wing, that the chain of the pickets was on the rear of the left wing in connection with the reserved corps of Breymann. For the defense of the baggage, which, it will be remembered, was under the protection of the 47th, two more twelve pounders were detached. The spot, occupied this day by the army, had been *used* only the day previous, as the camp of four hundred Americans. The camps of both armies were about five English miles distant from each other, so that at eight o'clock on the morning of the 16th, the roll call of the Americans could be distinctly heard in the English camp. It was believed in the British army, that the Americans had approached nearer; and in order to be certain in regard to this, as well as the position of their army, Burgoyne himself sallied out to reconnoitre. Two roads for the two columns were also to be made at the same time, and a bridge, that had been destroyed by the Americans, was to be repaired in order to facilitate the advance of the army. A part of the light troops, consisting of one-half of Fraser's corps, and the second brigade of the two wings with six guns, were detached for this purpose. The 9th and the 62d, of the right wing, under Lieutenant Colonel Amstruther, and the regiments of Specht and Hesse Hanau of the left wing under Brigadier Gall, were also detached for the same purpose.

At eleven o'clock on the morning of the 16th, the corps left the camp accompanied by Burgoyne, Phillips, Riedesel and Fraser. Two divisions of working men, each one hundred strong, with the necessary tools, followed the corps. The column of the right wing consisted of one-half of Fraser's corps, under Major Ackland, and the regiment Specht; the column of the left, of the 9th, 62d and Hesse Hanau. The former crossed a ruined bridge, which had now been repaired, and came to a road leading to Dovogat's house,[1] just below the Cummings kill. The latter, after crossing the bridge, took the road leading to Sword's house.[2] Both houses were about two and a half English miles distant from the British camp. The generals were obliged, on account of the detention caused by the repairing of the bridge, to discontinue reconnoitering for this day. Toward evening they reached the two houses above mentioned, which were about eight hundred paces distant from each other and separated by dense woods. At eight o'clock in the evening the corps returned to their camp, without seeing anything of the enemy. On the following day (the 17th), at ten o'clock in the morning, the army again started in two columns, taking the two roads that had been made the day previous. The right column was composed of Fraser's brigade and the English regiments of the right wing; the left, of all the German troops of the left wing. Behind these followed the heavy artillery,

[1] This house, which is still (1867) standing in good preservation, on the margin of the Lake Champlain canal about fifty rods from the Hudson, is situated forty rods east of the road from Schuylerville to Stillwater, in what is called Van Vechten's cove at Coveville. It is owned by Mr. Wilcox, the president of the Schuylerville bank, and is at present tenanted by an Irishman of the name of Patrick Mohan.

[2] The site of this house, is on the south bank of a spring brook, about fifty yards west of the Hudson river, and a few rods north of the south line of the town of Saratoga. It may be readily found from being about thirty rods north of a highway leading from the Hudson river road westerly, which highway is the first one north of Wilbur's basin. This highway, was nearly the same at the time of General Burgoyne's visit in 1777, as it is now. It was on land, now (1867) owned by a Mr. Chase, about three miles south of Schuylerville. All traces of it are now obliterated, save a slight depression in the soil, where was the cellar.

the hospitals, stores, and all the baggage of the army. The corps of Breymann again formed the rear guard. At six in the evening the army encamped near Sword's house, extending back to Dovogat's house. The camp was on an eminence. In advance, among the hills, stood Fraser's corps; and in the rear, toward the plain, bivouacked Specht's brigade in line. Breymann's division reached the main army at one o'clock in the night, and encamped fifteen hundred paces in the rear of Specht's brigade. In the space between Breymann's corps and Specht's brigade were artillery, trains, supplies, etc.; the latter brigade extending as far as the Hudson. The bateaux, with their freight, were also here. A deserter reported that the Americans had left their camp near Stillwater three miles distant, in order to attack the English army. Burgoyne accordingly reenforced the outposts, and gave orders that the next morning before daybreak the army should be under arms. The night, however, passed quietly — still no particulars of the enemy's position among the hills were as yet known. Breymann's corps, for the sake of safety, advanced to the right wing close to the division of Fraser. Riedesel, in turn, then advanced to the position just left by Breymann. The regiment Rhetz occupied the bridge between Sword's house and the English regiments of the right wing. At this point, a footpath led from Stillwater across the mountains.

The Americans had destroyed all the bridges, and the roads were consequently impassable for an army. Burgoyne, therefore, could advance no farther. On the 18th, he caused some roads to be cut through the woods, and, at the same time, had a few earth works thrown up to cover the army in the rear. The road along the bank of the Hudson was entirely destroyed by the Americans; and as the left wing, artillery and baggage were to advance in this direction, the road and the buried bridges had also to be repaired. Riedesel superintended this work himself, and this, too, in the presence of the enemy who were on the opposite bank. By two o'clock in the afternoon,

two bridges were repaired, and a new one, designated No. 1,[1] built. Here was left a picket of two hundred men. The enemy made several movements toward the left wing, which occupied more ground and had progressed more rapidly with its work than the right. All unnecessary firing was forbidden in the English army. Everything remained quiet.

Toward four in the afternoon, four regiments of the enemy, with banners, could plainly be seen. Three were hidden behind the hills, and two behind some woods on the plain.

The night passed quietly, although the English army were ready at any moment for battle, and were under arms an hour before daybreak. Riedesel, who was the more cautious, as he expected that the left wing would be first attacked, ordered two companies of his regiment, two hours before day, to advance and occupy a position between the left wing and the picket on the bridge. All the patrols, who returned in the morning, reported that they had seen nothing of the enemy. Burgoyne, therefore, determined upon an advance; and, as a preparatory step, once more divided his army into three columns. The first or centre column, consisting of the 9th, 20th, 21st and 62d Regiments with six six-pounders, was led by Brigadier Hamilton; the second or right column, consisting of the English grenadiers and light infantry, the 24th Brunswick grenadiers, and the light battalion with eight six-pounders under Lieutenant Colonel Breymann, was led by General Fraser; and the third or left column, which was to advance on the main road and consisted of the rest of the German troops and the artillery of the left wing, was led by General Riedesel. General Burgoyne remained with the column of Brigadier Hamilton. The heavy artillery, baggage, etc., followed the column commanded by Riedesel. The 47th Regiment remained on the right bank of the Hudson for the protection of the bateaux.

---

[1] Bridge No. 1, was over the brook that runs into the Hudson at a locality now known as Van Buren's ferry, directly opposite the village of Easton. It is still quite a stream.

On the 19th of September, the army began its preparations for the march by forming into three columns. The Hesse Hanau regiment was directed by Riedesel to occupy the hills on either side of Sword's house and defend the roads leading into the woods behind this house. It was further ordered to remain in this position until the troops of the left wing had passed, when it was to form the rear guard. At eleven o'clock, upon the discharge of a signal gun in the centre, the advance guards of the three columns started.[1] The advance guard of the left wing was formed by part of the dragoons, and a detachment of one hundred men of the light infantry. Then followed the regiment Riedesel, a detachment of working men and the artillery of the left wing, the regiment Rhetz, and, last of all, the regiment Specht. The column crossed new bridge No. 1, and, after passing Taylor's house,[2] halted at a distance of about eight hundred paces from the latter. At this point it was

[1] The reverberations of this signal gun among the hills is described in several manuscript journals as particularly grand.

[2] Taylor's house — the one in which General Fraser is supposed to have died — was situated three miles and a half south of Fish creek, and about one hundred rods north of Wilbur's basin. At the time of the battle it stood by the side of the old road on the west margin of the intervales at the foot of the hill on which General Fraser was buried. When, some years afterwards, the present turnpike was constructed, running twenty rods east of the old road, the latter was discontinued, and a Mr. Smith (who had purchased the old house), drew it to the west side of the turnpike and turned it into a tavern. Hence it was long known as the Smith house. It stood until within five years, when it was torn down. The foundations yet (1867) remain on ground now owned by Cotton & Sons. In 1820, the late Theodore Dwight visited the spot, and made a drawing of it, which has been engraved and given in *The Letters and Journals of Mrs. General Riedesel.*

It is generally believed that the Taylor house was the one in which General Fraser died. This, however, I believe to be a mistake, and for the following reason: Whenever any incident occurs at or near Taylor's house it is always spoken of in the manuscript journals of the German officers as having occurred at or near *Taylor's house.* But when speaking of the prominent event of Fraser's death, he is said to have been carried into the *log* house occupied by Mrs. Riedesel. This opinion, moreover, seems to receive confirmation in the fact that on the original maps of this action, three houses are put down on the locality where Taylor's house stood.

Neither was the Taylor house at any time the head quarters of Burgoyne, as has also been heretofore believed. General Burgoyne's head quarters, after leaving Sword's house, was in the centre of the army on Freeman's farm.

necessary to build a new bridge across a marshy ditch, which, when completed, was known as bridge No. 2.[1] The men at once fell to work, under the protection of the regiment Riedesel; the other regiments meanwhile sending out patrols as far forward as possible. Toward one o'clock in the afternoon a brisk fire of musketry was heard at a considerable distance off. It continued to be heard for half an hour, and was supposed to proceed from the second column. In the meantime the workmen continued their operations on the left wing. Finally Riedesel ordered the regiment Rhetz close up to his own regiment, that it might be near at hand in case of need. At the same time he ordered two companies, under Captain Fredersdorf, to push forward to the other side of the ditch, when it would be in more easy communication with the centre column. General Phillips, who commanded the heavy artillery, and had hitherto followed the left column, offered to go back to the second column and investigate into the cause of the late firing. Not deeming it prudent to take the nearest way through the woods he rode back, and followed in the track of the right or second column. As soon as the bridge was finished, Riedesel informed the different colonels of it by a signal. He then advanced across the bridge; but scarcely had he gone six hundred paces when he was obliged to build another one (called No. 3[2]), in consequence of which the army were again brought to

---

[1] This bridge was over the creek that ran into the Hudson at a place now called Wilbur's basin, about one hundred rods south of the Taylor or Smith house. At this time it was quite a large stream, but having been directed into the Champlain canal, it is now only a muddy ditch. The land on which this is, is now owned by Mr. Hoag.

[2] This bridge, according to the Brunswick *Journal** before quoted, was about 1,500 feet south of bridge No. 2 (Wilbur's Basin), fifteen feet north of the first canal bridge south of Wilbur's basin. Its site is now occupied by the Champlain canal. The *Journal* says, "The left column resumed its march (from bridge No. 2), but had scarcely advanced 600 paces † when they were compelled to halt again and repair a bridge which had been demolished, etc." This point is an important one, from the fact that it was the *extreme southern* limit on the river bank, reached by Burgoyne's army in his expedition.

[* This Brunswick *Journal* was a semi-official one kept by the Brunswick officers

a halt. The advance guard, the workmen and the party detailed for the protection of the left wing were, however, relieved — thus advancing the regiment Rhetz to the position lately held by the regiment Riedesel, the latter occupying the heights around Taylor's house on the other side of the ditch, and those in the woods on the cross road where Captain Fredersdorf stood with his two companies. For the defense of bridge No. 2, two twelve-pounders were brought into position, the six-pounders having been taken by the regiment Rhetz for the protection of the working party.

Toward two o'clock in the afternoon Major Bloomfield of the artillery returned. He had accompanied Phillips on his reconnoitering expedition, and had now been sent back by him to Riedesel with the report that the Brunswick light troops belonging to the advance guard of the right wing were already hotly engaged with the enemy, that the latter were drawn up in order of battle, and that a general engagement would take place that very afternoon. Major Bloomfield was accordingly directed to bring back with him a few heavy guns from the artillery train, for the support of the right wing; but scarcely had he left, when the fire of musketry began anew. Riedesel, having as yet heard nothing from Burgoyne,[1] immediately dispatched Captain Willoe to the latter, at the same time posting his men so that he could not be taken by surprise. It was of the utmost importance that the ground between bridges Nos. 1 and 2 should be held, as upon that depended the salvation of the entire army. Here were the artillery and the supply train;

---

during the war and brought back with them to Germany. It affords invaluable information for Elking's work, *The Auxiliaries in America.* This latter work Mr. T. W. Field has had translated preparatory to its publication in English. Through his great kindness I have been allowed to make quotations from it both for *The Journals of Mrs. General Riedesel*, and also for this work.]

[† An army on moderately plain ground, takes two feet and a half to a step. This would make the distance from bridge No. 2, to bridge No. 3, about 1,500 feet as stated above.]

[1] The reader will bear in mind that Burgoyne had advanced toward Freeman's farm with the first or centre column, under Brigadier Hamilton.

in fact, here, near Taylor's house, was the main position. This point was occupied by the regiment Riedesel, which had for its support two six-pounders, under Captain Pausch, posted in an advantageous position, a little in advance. Some Indians, running across the woods and mountains from the right wing, reported that a few regiments of the enemy had marched to within a short distance of the left wing. This story, moreover, was the more credible, as some rebel patrols, who had been seen on the plain, had shot the horse of a dragoon while acting as sentry. In the meantime the firing lasted until five o'clock in the afternoon, when Captain Willoe returned with a message from Burgoyne to the effect that Riedesel, after reenforcing his position near the river as much as possible, should take the rest of his troops and attack the flank of the enemy near Freeman's farm.[1] Riedesel, accordingly, immediately selected for this purpose two companies from the regiment Rhetz, and the whole of his own regiment, together with two cannons — their places being filled by the remaining three companies of the regiment Rhetz. Leaving Brigadier Specht with the 47th and the heavy artillery in command on the river, Riedesel took the road behind bridge No. 2, and crossed the new one No. 3, leading to the plain. Here he stationed a guard. After crossing the bridge, he hastened, with two companies of the regiment Rhetz as an advanced guard, as quickly as possible on a road, one and a half English miles long, through the woods till he arrived on an eminence, from the top of which he could see the engagement of the right wing. The enemy were posted on a corner of the woods, having on his right flank for a defense a deep muddy ditch, the bank of which had been rendered inaccessible by stones, underbrush and barricades. In front of this corner of the forest, and entirely surrounded by dense woods, was a vacant space, on which the English regiments were

[1] The locality thus designated yet retains the name of Freeman's farm, and is owned and occupied (1867) by a farmer of the name of Ebenezer Leggett.

drawn up in line. The struggle was for the possession of this vacant space, on which, by the way, Freeman's farm was situated. It had already been in possession of both parties, and now served as a support for the left flank of the English right wing, the right flank being covered by the corps of Fraser and Breymann. The 9th served as a reserve.

When General Riedesel arrived on the eminence, the battle was raging the fiercest. The Americans, far superior in numbers, had, for the sixth time, hurled fresh troops against the three English regiments — the 20th, 21st and 62d. The guns on this wing were already silenced, there being no more ammunition and all the artillerymen having been either killed or wounded. The three brave English regiments had been, by the steady fire of fresh relays of the enemy, thinned down to one-half, and now formed a small band surrounded by heaps of dead and wounded. This was the scene presented to the view of Riedesel on his arrival on the height. Every moment he expected to see the little band either captured or annihilated by the Americans. Quickly, and without waiting for the rest of his troops — with drums beating and his men shouting "hurrah!" — he attacked the enemy on the double quick. Posting his troops at the edge of the above mentioned ditch, he sent such a well directed volley among the Americans, that those troops who were coming out of the woods, and about to fall upon the English, were startled and turned back. The British, animated with fresh courage, pressed forward at the point of the bayonet. Meanwhile, Captain Pausch arrived with his guns at the right moment, and forming into line with the English, opened fire with grape shot. The regiment Riedesel also arrived at the nick of time, and, joining the two companies on the ditch, considerably extended the line of fire.

The English had thrown a bridge across the ditch for the purpose of keeping up the necessary connection with the left wing. General Riedesel, therefore, after posting his two companies on the edge of the ditch, galloped toward the bridge, in

order to confer with Generals Burgoyne and Phillips. Thence he sent orders to his troops to do their best to cross the ditch and unite with the English. The Brunswickers, having succeeded in spite of its apparent impossibility in accomplishing this feat, immediately poured another volley of musketry into the enemy's flank, accompanying it with a "hurrah!" This was the turning point; for the English and Germans, throwing themselves upon the enemy in the woods, repulsed them. Scarcely, however, was the engagement over in this quarter, when firing began again on the right. A few American brigades had endeavored to surround the right wing, but Lieutenant Colonel Breymann, being on his guard, received them with a vigorous fire, and compelled them to retreat after a few discharges. General Fraser, who was a witness of this, gives the most splendid acknowledgments to the German troops in a general circular to all the English generals.

Only one hundred of the enemy's dead were on the battle field at the close of the engagement; for he had had time and opportunity to remove most of his killed and wounded. Deserters reported that the Americans had had their whole force engaged, having left only eight hundred men to garrison their camp. They were commanded on this occasion by General Arnold. The English and Germans remained during the night on the battle field. Riedesel, however, returned at nine in the evening to the left wing which he found encamped. The Hesse Hanau regiment was ordered to quit its position on the cross road, and take up another one near bridge No 2, hitherto occupied by the regiment Specht—the latter, with two cannon, moving on to the height where the three companies of the regiment Rhetz had until now been stationed.

Thus had General Riedesel, with his German troops, once more saved the English from a great misfortune, having unquestionably decided the engagement in their favor. Notwithstanding, however, the praise which the German troops received for their bravery on this occasion, General Burgoyne, and a few other

English commanders, regarded the German general with secret envy. Indeed, they would gladly have passed over his merits, had such a thing been possible. British pride did not desire the acknowledgment of bravery other than their own, as we shall see more plainly in the future.[1]

General Burgoyne resolved, after this engagement, to advance no farther for the present, but to await the movements of General Howe for the union of both armies. He concluded, therefore, to post his army in such a position, that while it would be secure from an attack, it might be free to undertake other operations. Accordingly, on the 20th, he inspected, with his other generals, the entire region of country which had been hitherto occupied by his three columns. The result of this inspection was the posting of the army from Freeman's farm across the woods and hills as far as Taylor's house, in front of bridge No. 2, and thence to the Hudson. At the same time for the defense of the right wing, a redoubt was thrown up on the late battle field near the corner of the woods, that had been occupied by the enemy, this side of the ditch. The defense of this ditch was entrusted to the corps of Fraser, who were to occupy the same position that the Germans had done on the day of the battle. The reserve corps of Breymann was posted the other side of the ditch, both for the protection of the right flank

---

[1] In Stedman's *History of the American War* we find the best evidences of the statement in the text. In describing this engagement, for instance, he makes not the least mention of General Riedesel and his flank attack. "The surrounding of the right wing," he says, "was frustrated by General Fraser." He further adds, "The German troops, in consequence of their position, the leaving of which was not considered advisable, *did not take a great part in this engagement.* After the commencement of this action, General Phillips made his way through the dense woods, a proceeding that was of great advantage." We will not make any further explanations, but leave it to the decision of the reader.— *Note in the original.*

Mrs. General Riedesel, with a few of the officers' wives, who had followed the army, was near the field of action, and knew that their husbands were in the contest. It was the first time she had stood this test; and, notwithstanding her courage, she suffered the most intense anguish during these trying hours. She has described her situation very graphically and in detail in her *Letters and Journals*, to which the reader is referred.

of Fraser's division and for the defense of a road leading from this point to the rear of the army. The right wing of the English brigade was placed in close proximity to the left wing of Fraser, thus extending the line to the left as far as bridge No. 2. The road, on which Riedesel had hastened to the succor of the British, the previous day, was therefore now in the rear of the army. The left wing was also extended to a considerable eminence. The Hesse Hanau regiment kept its position on the cross road behind bridge No. 2. The 47th and the corps of provincials remained in its old position for the defense of the ground between bridges No. 2, and No. 3,[1] where the artillery and supply trains were placed. General Burgoyne took up his head quarters in the centre of the army. The entire front was covered by a deep, muddy ditch running nine hundred paces in front of the outposts of the left wing, but, at the same time, being so near the centre, that the outposts were on the farther side. This ditch ran in a curve around the right wing of the English brigade, thereby separating Fraser's corps from the main body. The space between them was filled up with artillery and a few detachments. Near the water, about four hundred paces from bridge No. 3, was a corner of the forest extending down the hills, behind which the enemy had his outposts. There was also a detachment of the Hesse Hanau regiment stationed behind some embankments, for the defense of bridge No. 3. This was the new camp of Freeman's farm.[2]

The beating of the *reveillé* in the enemy's camp could be

[1] See note a few pages back, in reference to the site of bridges Nos. 1, 2, and 3.

[2] The following, also, is the description of the forces as given in the *Auxiliaries* taken from the Brunswick *Journal*. Although it does not differ essentially from the one in the text (taken from General Riedesel's Journal) it furnishes additional details, besides proving most conclusively the falsity of the statement generally made, that Burgoyne's head quarters were at *Taylor's house*. *Vide* note on the Taylor or Smith house a few pages back.

"The encampment, after the action, extended from Freeman's farm through the forest, over the ridge of a hill up to the height behind Taylor's house; and from the bridge No. 2, down to the Hudson. On the right wing, near the ravine, where

heard by the left wing, whence it was conjectured that their right wing could not be far distant from the ditch near the camp of the Germans. The Americans were, therefore, nearer to the latter than to the English. In order, however, to ascertain the position of the enemy with more certainty as well as to force them, by a movement of the left wing, to vacate this side, the English general, at daybreak of the 21st, ordered one thousand working men, under the supervision of two engineers, to cut a road through the woods in the direction where the Americans were supposed to be encamped. The same number of

---

the engagement of the preceding day had taken place, a redoubt was thrown up. Fraser's corps was also stationed there, that is to say, on the spot, where, during the action, Riedesel's seven companies had been placed. On the other side of the ravine stood the reserve under Breymann, to cover the right flank.* Behind Fraser's left flank the right wing of the British brigades began, and thence the entire line of the army stretched across the hills up to Taylor's house before bridge No. 2. On the left wing there was a height from which the entire breadth of the valley from the river up to bridge No. 3 could be swept by shot. The regiment of Hesse Hanau was to keep its position in the valley on the cross road behind bridge No. 2, having its outermost posts near the bridge No. 3. The 47th Regiment and the corps of provincials, together with the few Indians that still remained with the army were also directed to defend the valley, and were stationed between the bridges 1 and 2, where the train and hospitals were also placed.

"Burgoyne *camped between the English and German troops of Riedesel on the heights at the left wing.* The entire front was protected by a deep, marshy ditch, with an undergrowth of wood along its side; said ditch running close to the line in the centre and winding off around the right flank, so that it cut its way between said flank and Fraser's division. The empty space left in this manner, was covered by guards and batteries. To the left the ditch lost itself in the valley near the declivity of the hills, at the distance of 300 paces on the other side of the chain of sentries. Behind the ditch, palisades and barricades of immense trees, cut down, rose up — for trees were close at hand. In the valley, about 400 paces beyond the outer bridge No. 3, the angle of a forest extended along the Hudson, and ran through the hollow as far up as the declivity of the hill, and behind said angle or edge of the forest, the Americans had stationed their most advanced outposts in the valley. To protect the bridge No. 3, one officer and forty men of the Hesse Hanau regiment stood entrenched on the road, with a subaltern guard of ten men posted at some distance before them in a house with loop holes. Each regiment had to detach one picket, which was stationed 1,000 paces in advance of its front; and between said picket and the camp were the outposts. For the protection of these outposts triangular redoubts were thrown up. Such, pretty nearly, was the disposition of the camp at FREEMAN'S FARM."

[* This spot is now called by the farmers BURGOYNE'S HILL. See note some pages in advance.]

troops from the centre, and as many more from the left wing accompanied this party as a guard. The working party, after making a road on the left wing as far as the ditch, were attacked by a force of one hundred rebels, who, however, were driven back. But the tumult, thus occasioned, caused Burgoyne to call the army to arms, in which position it remained two hours. As soon as all was again quiet, the army returned into its camp.

It was a very difficult task for the English commander to fill up the thinned ranks of those three English regiments that had borne the brunt of the last engagement. He finally determined, for the present at least, until reenforcements arrived, to fill up their ranks with provincials, having first gained the consent of their commanders, Captains Petersen, Yessop, Makelzy, and McKay, to the step, upon giving them a written promise that their men should be dismissed by the 25th of the December following.

During the interval between the 21st and the 22d, a pontoon bridge was constructed alongside of bridge No. 2, under the direction of Captain Schenck. This was done to facilitate the communication of the army with the opposite bank. During the night, considerable noise and hallooing was heard in the American camp. This, in connection with the fact that at six o'clock of the previous evening firing had been heard, led the army to suppose that some holiday was being celebrated. On the morning of the 22d, some loyal Albanians reached the army. The next morning the army received orders to be under arms every morning one hour before dawn as long as it remained in its present camp. A courier from General Howe arrived the same day with dispatches to Burgoyne, which the latter kept secret. Riedesel, however, learned among other things, that Howe had sent a corps up the Hudson in ships, under the command of General Clinton, for the purpose of getting in the rear of the Americans; also, that Howe promised to send some more news in about eight days.

The work of fortifying the camp was continued daily. On

the 23d, a *place d'armes* was laid out in front of the regiments, which was also fortified as much as possible and strengthened with batteries, the army having abundance of artillery. In front of the line in the woods, trees were felled to within a distance of one hundred paces; while between bridges Nos. 1 and 2, large embankments and redoubts were thrown up. More than one thousand men were employed for fourteen days on this work. In the night of the 23d, a great deal of noise was again heard in the American camp. This time, however, it may have proceeded from working parties, as the most common noise was the rattling of teams. From the fact, also, that human voices were heard, it is evident that the enemy must have been very near the other side of the ditch. Indeed, detachments of the enemy came close to the outposts, but were driven back by the patrols.

On the 23d, Burgoyne sent the Brunswick Captain, Gerlach, with a strong detachment of provincials, on a reconnoitering expedition, to the opposite bank of the Hudson, for the purpose of ascertaining more exactly the real position of the enemy. He was to ascertain especially, if something could not be done against the enemy's right wing, provided the roads were in a suitable condition. He returned in the evening, and reported that he had been beyond the right wing of the Americans, but could not find out their position, otherwise than that he supposed they were encamped in two lines. According, also, to his report, they had no bridge across the river, but a ferry four miles in their rear.

On the morning of this day (the 23d) the outposts of the left wing and of the corps of Fraser and Breymann were attacked by a larger force than on the previous occasion. In a skirmish near the water, the enemy were repulsed, though with a loss of three men. Several of the Americans were also wounded; and a patrol of the regiment Rhetz brought in four prisoners. The same morning the wagons in which Riedesel had sent clothing to those Brunswick officers who had been captured, returned

at ten o'clock. General Gates gave the servant of the late Lieutenant Colonel Baum his liberty; a circumstance which caused the man to break forth in such laudations in the camp, that it was feared the fellow might induce some of the soldiers to desert. He said that the sick and wounded prisoners were still in Bennington, but the well ones had been taken to Springfield. A few loyal Albanians, who arrived at this time in the camp, reported that General Howe had lately gained some advantage over Washnington, whose army was near its dissolution. A deserter, who soon after came into camp, confirmed this report.

The noises in the American camp continued the following night, and the outposts were again troubled. On the morning of the 26th, Burgoyne sent an officer, with a detachment of Indians and light troops, in the direction of the enemy by a circuitous way. This officer succeeded in gaining the rear of the Americans, but failed to learn anything of their position. He came across a party of the enemy which he repulsed; and the Indians, as usual, brought in a few scalps. The description given by the servant of the late Lieutenant Colonel Baum, in regard to the amiable and pleasant deportment of General Gates, was in no wise extravagant. The latter soon gave another proof of this. The captured cornet, Graef, of the dragoons, soon after arrived, on the morning of the 28th, on the outskirts of the camp, in the company of Colonel Wilkinson, the adjutant general of General Gates. The former only was admitted. The object of Wilkinson's visit was to see about the exchange of a captured American colonel. In this, however, he was unsuccessful, as the colonel was then in England. General Gates wrote an extremely polite and agreeable letter to Burgoyne and Riedesel, and allowed Cornet Graef to remain five days in the English camp. Horatio Gates was a native of England, had formerly been in the British service, and had distinguished himself at the capture of Martinique.[1] He after-

[1] *Vide Stone's Life and Times of Sir William Johnson.*

ward left the army, went to America, and bought land in Virginia. Upon the breaking out of the rebellion in 1775, he entered the American service, and found another opportunity of using his military talents. He was a man of high culture, and very amiable. We shall soon speak further of this general.

Many things, hitherto unknown, were gathered from Graef. Among other items, he stated that a short time since the Americans, under General Lincoln, had attempted to surprise the two forts at Ticonderoga. In their main object they had been unsuccessful, though they had captured four companies of the 53d, besides driving an officer and his men out of a log house, and getting possession of a ship and one bateau. This was the occasion of the firing and noise heard in the enemy's camp during the night of the 21st.[1]

At nine in the evening of the same day (the 28th) an outpost of the Hesse Hanau regiment near the river was surprised and driven back by a party of fifty men who had come suddenly upon them through a field of corn; but being at once reenforced, they forced the Americans to retreat, and reoccupied their former position.

The situation of General Burgoyne already began to grow dangerous. The outposts were more and more molested; the army was weakened by sick, wounded, and the sending off of detachments; the enemy swarmed in its rear, threatening the strongest positions; the army was as good as cut off from its outposts; while in addition to all this, in consequence of the close proximity of the enemy's camp, the soldiers had but little rest. To prevent unnecessary alarms as far as possible, Burgoyne ordered the two generals,[2] commanding the two wings, to station an adjutant at each outpost, under whom should be the patrols. An alarm was then only to be given when one of

[1] The reader cannot fail to notice the extraordinary fact that Burgoyne was indebted to an enemy in his front for information respecting his own posts in his rear. Did his Indian scouts play him false, or was it bad generalship?

[2] Brigadier Hamilton of the right, and General Riedesel of the left wing.

these adjutants thought it necessary. Accordingly a staff officer was dispatched during the day for the purpose. But that which weakened the army still more, was the growing desertions. The Americans had sent agents into the English camp who endeavored to induce the soldiers, by all kinds of representations, to desert; and it being already known that the Americans treated their prisoners very kindly, and that they were not as strict in their discipline as the Europeans, the agents here and there found a willing ear. The want, moreover, of everything to which the English soldier especially, was accustomed, and the hard service, made matters worse yet. There were already, besides the sick who were with the regiment, eight hundred men in the hospital, the most of whom were wounded. On the other hand, General Gates was enabled to strengthen his army constantly by fresh reenforcements. It was also ascertained at this time, that General Lincoln, after his last expedition, had brought in thirteen hundred new men. The lack of forage was first felt in the English army; and its general soon found himself obliged, on the 30th, to send out a foraging party of two hundred and fifty men with a six-pounder, under Major Von Lucke. They foraged on the other side of the Hudson, behind the left wing, and were not troubled in the least by the enemy.

On the same day, a courier, sent by Colonel St. Leger, arrived from Ticonderoga. He had been obliged to make his way through the woods in order to elude the vigilance of the many war parties of the enemy. The colonel wrote that he would start on his march to the army in a few days; that the Brunswick recruits had arrived at Ticonderoga; and that Brigadier Powell was thinking of retaining them as a reenforcement of that garrison. His report in regard to the expedition of the enemy under General Lincoln, agreed perfectly with the story of Cornet Graef. The four companies, which had been captured, were the same who had defended the new road. Powell had learned the fact of their capture only two days afterwards, when Lincoln, with the cannon which he had cap-

tured, fired upon the log house and displayed the daring courage of marching in front of forts Carillon and Independence and summoning the commanders to surrender. This demand being refused, he made four different assaults on as many different days; but all proving abortive he marched off. On his retreat, he attempted to capture Diamond island [1] in Lake George, but being bravely received by the commander, Captain Obry of the 47th, he was compelled to make a precipitate retreat having lost about sixty men in killed and wounded. Captain Obry pursued, and recaptured the ship and bateau.

As we have before mentioned, Burgoyne sent patrols from the left wing to the rear of the Americans for the purpose of ascertaining their position. The Americans did the same thing. They sent patrols around the right wing of the English, and even had the audacity to come up close behind the head quarters in the centre. On the 1st of October, a few English soldiers, who were digging potatoes in a field five hundred paces in the rear of head quarters, were suddenly surprised by the enemy, who suddenly issued from the woods and carried off the men in the very faces of their comrades. For these sallies the Americans also generally employed Indians who were called Stockbridges. Many soldiers disappeared in this manner whenever they dared go beyond the line of guards to procure food or other necessaries from the inhabitants of the neighborhood. In order to guard against this, Riedesel issued the strictest orders to the Germans never to go beyond the line of outposts without special permission. Patrols of dragoons were also detached to ride over the roads in the rear of the army and arrest every man whom they should find. For the safety of the head quarters, moreover, some fortifications were thrown up and several of the outposts pushed farther into the woods.

Nothing as yet being known respecting the position of the

---

[1] It will be remembered that this island had been made a magazine for the stores, etc., of the British army. See a few pages back.

enemy, the occasion of the return of Cornet Graef into the American camp was made use of for this purpose. According to custom he was accompanied by an officer as far as the outposts of the enemy. Captain Gerlach was the one selected for this mission, and he did his best to find out something about the Americans. He arrived unmolested in front of their outposts, but gained nothing whatever, as a dense wood prevented him from seeing anything. He, therefore, returned without accomplishing his object, although he had been two thousand paces beyond the outposts of the English. The same day General Riedesel went out on a reconnoitering expedition with the yägers. His intention was to explore the course of the ditch, and he did succeed in gaining the other side; but the bank was so steep and covered with such dense thickets that nobody could get through, and he also was forced to return without having accomplished his purpose.

Meanwhile Burgoyne still kept the men at work on the fortifications. On the morning of the 4th of October, the 47th was ordered to throw up a new line of embankments toward bridge No. 1. The pontoons were defended by the sailors who were daily drilled for the purpose. There were now only sufficient rations for sixteen days; and foraging parties, necessarily composed of a large number of men, were sent out every day. At length General Burgoyne found himself obliged to cut down the daily rations from a pound and a half of bread, and the same quantity of meat, to a pound of bread and a pound of meat; and, as he had heard nothing either of Howe or Clinton, notwithstanding the former's promise to send word in the course of eight days, he began to be seriously alarmed. In the evening of the 4th he had a conference with the generals, Phillips, Riedesel and Fraser, in respect to future operations. The subjects of consultation were the strength of the enemy, who outnumbered him four to one, his ignorance of their position, the lateness of the season, the scarcity of provisions, and the nonreception of intelligence from General Clinton. Several

plans were proposed by him by which he hoped to extricate himself from these difficulties. His idea was as follows: To surround the left flank of the enemy; and, after leaving eight hundred men for the defense of the ground between bridges Nos. 1 and 2, endeavor to get in its rear. This proposition caused considerable controversy; for the question arose whether eight hundred men would be sufficient for the purpose assigned them. The safety of the whole army depended upon this; for if this force should be beaten and the bridges in its rear taken, then the entire army would be completely cut off; and even if this detachment held its ground the position might still be lost — since, as three or four days were necessary to get round through the woods and pathless thickets, the enemy would have abundance of time to mass his force on this spot, when he would, in all probability, capture the men and destroy the two bridges — the only means of retreat. Such a hazardous undertaking must be thoroughly considered; and it was, therefore, agreed to inspect carefully on the next day the fortifications in that place, and the surrounding country.

During the night of the 5th, the pickets were again attacked, and one-half of the troops of the left wing remained under arms.

On the morning of the following day, the generals, in consequence of yesterday's consultation, rode to the designated spot. Here they found considerable fault, both in regard to the manner in which the fortifications had been located, and the place chosen for the artillery and supply trains. Three of the fortifications not only were built too large, but were not proportionately adapted for defense, since, it being impossible for their guns to reach the valleys between the hills, the enemy could debouch from the woods on to the ground without being obliged to take the batteries on the heights. The generals met again in the evening of the same day to continue their consultations. General Riedesel suggested that if it were impossible to get in the enemy's rear in one day, it would be more advisable

to recross the Hudson, and again occupy their old position behind the Battenkill. Thus, not only would the communication with Lake George be regained, but the arrival of Clinton's army from the south could be safely awaited. The other generals were also in favor of this suggestion; but Burgoyne, regarding a retrograde movement as disgraceful, at first would not hear to it. Subsequently, however, he said that on the 7th, he would undertake another great reconnoitering expedition against the enemy's left wing, to ascertain definitely his position, and whether it would be advisable to attack him. Should the latter be the case, he intended to advance on the enemy on the 8th with his entire army; but if he should not think an attack advisable, then he would, on the 11th, march back to the Battenkill.

On the 6th, a force of Americans, numbering five to six hundred men, again attacked the entire line of outposts, driving back those of them that were farthest advanced. At first only small detachments were sent to their support as their assailants soon retreated. The latter were pursued by a party of Indians and provincials up to the very pickets of the enemy, the first of which were driven in. The Indians advanced as far as a few sheds, which they fired. A little distance beyond these sheds was a house, in which, at this time, there happened to be a few American generals, who, hearing the approaching commotion, hastily mounted their horses and quickly galloped off. A few of the Indians, who had approached nearest the house, sent a few bullets after them, one of which wounded one of the officers. The house was then set on fire. In this skirmish, several were wounded on both sides, and four prisoners were taken by the English.

At ten o'clock in the morning of the 7th, rations and liquor for four days having been previously issued to the army, General Burgoyne, with fifteen hundred men and eight cannon, started on his reconnoitering expedition, accompanied by Generals Riedesel, Phillips and Fraser. The troops, on this occasion, were

taken from all the regiments except the 47th. All the Indians (one hundred and eighty) and the corps of provincials crossed the right flank in a large circuit through the woods. The detachment itself, divided into three columns, advanced toward the right to within a quarter of an hour's march of the enemy's camp. The first picket, which was met near Waisser's house, was driven in, and the eminence, on which it had stood, occupied. The British were then placed in such a position, that the smallness of their number was concealed as much as possible. In this situation they remained for an hour and a half, during which interval the generals consulted together as to the manner in which the reconnoissance should be continued. Toward three in the afternoon, the yägers discovered near a house, that lay a little way in advance and was separated from them by a ditch, a small body of the Americans. The latter, however, grew stronger and stronger; and Burgoyne, supposing they meant to oppose his further advance, fired his two twelve-pounders at them several times, but without producing the least effect. On the contrary, they continued to increase in numbers. Finally, at four in the afternoon, they attacked his left wing with great spirit, soon forcing the English grenadiers, who were stationed in the woods at this point, to retreat. They next threw their entire force upon the centre, which was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Specht, and consisted of three hundred men. But even then, Specht, who had already withstood the attack for a long time, would have maintained his ground, had not Lord Balcarras been called back through a misunderstanding. His flanks, however, were now exposed — the enemy were on his sides and front — and to avoid being cut off, he was obliged to retreat.[1] This he

[1] The account of this portion of the action is much fuller and clearer in the *Auxiliaries;* and, as each account is the complement of the other, and should be read together for a full understanding of the battle, the one in the *Auxiliaries* is here given:

"At four o'clock in the afternoon the Americans attacked the left wing, composed of the grenadiers under command of Major Ackland, who were posted in the wood, with such resolution, that they were obliged to give ground. Lieu-

accomplished in good order. The Americans now advanced with more vehemence and in greater numbers; and the detachment was nearly surrounded when Burgoyne determined to retreat to the great redoubt[1] on the right wing. Scarcely was this point reached, when the enemy attacked it with the same vigor they had hitherto shown, but without success. Another body at the same time attacked the embankments of Breymann's

---

tenant Colonel Specht, who stood in the centre of the line with three hundred Germans, and whose left flank was exposed by the retreating of the grenadiers, ordered the two regiments of Rhetz and Hesse Hanau to form a curve; and, supported by the artillery, he thus covered his flank which was in imminent danger. He maintained himself long and bravely in this precarious position, and would have stood his ground still longer, had he not been separated from the right wing, under Lord Balcarras, in consequence of the latter being unexpectedly commanded to take up another position with his light infantry. Thus Specht's right flank was as much exposed as his left. The brunt of the action now fell entirely on the Germans, who had to sustain alone the impetuous onset. The balls struck within their lines from three different sides. The three captains, Fredersdorf, Gleisenberg, Dahlstiena, and Ensign Geyling of Hesse Hanau fell dangerously wounded. The two cannons of Hesse Hanau were taken by the enemy.

"Brigadier General Fraser, who, until then, had been stationed more to the right, with one-half of the English grenadiers, the light infantry and the 24th Regiment, perceived in what danger the centre was, and hurried on to its succor with the 24th Regiment. But scarcely had he appeared on the scene of action, when he was mortally wounded by a rifle ball. He sank down from his horse, and was borne away from the field. Thereupon Major Forster took the command of Fraser's troops, but as he was as yet separated from the centre, he, too, was charged in front and on his two flanks. He also was exposed to the most galling fire, till at last Burgoyne gave the order to retreat to the great redoubt."

The grenadiers, under Ackland, were stationed a few yards to the left, and at the foot of an eminence now (1867) covered by an orchard, about two rods east of the road leading from Quaker springs to Stillwater, and twenty rods southeast of the house now (1867) occupied by Joseph Rogers. The Germans —who were the centre— under Specht, and the cannons of Hesse Hanau, were posted on top of this eminence— where is now the orchard. Thus the grenadiers, under Ackland, were to the left of the Germans. It was here, therefore, on the top of the eminence, that the hottest part of the first of this battle was fought, and where Ackland was wounded. Fraser was shot midway between the orchard and Rogers's house. A bass-wood tree now marks the spot. This tree is a shoot out of the stump of the tree that stood at the time where Fraser fell.

[1] This redoubt was three rods south of the present barn yard of Mr. Ebenezer Leggett, whose house — as mentioned in a preceding note — stands on the old clearing of Freeman, the site of the first action of the 19th of September. Balls and skeletons are still picked up on this spot. I myself, this summer (1867) picked up four grape shot on the site of the redoubt.

VIEW FROM ST. JOHN'S

SMITH HOUSE.

division in front[1] and on the left flank. The grenadiers composing this corps, fought bravely, but being only two hundred strong, and their commander — the chivalric Breymann — being shot dead, they were compelled to retreat. This latter misfortune was owing to the fact that the Canadian companies, belonging to the reconnoitering expedition, were absent from their place, by the side of this corps, part of them being in the great redoubt, and the others not having returned to their position. Had they been in their places, it would have been impossible to surround the left flank of Breymann. Specht, coming up at this moment, endeavored to retake the entrenchments captured by the Americans; but, night intervening, he not only failed to accomplish this, but in the general confusion, was taken prisoner along with a few other officers. As soon as it grew dark, the enemy desisted from their attack upon the fortifications and retreated. In this action, both General Arnold and General Fraser were severely wounded. There were also heavy losses upon both sides. The cannon, with the exception of two howitzers, fell into the hands of the Americans; also the six-pounders which were in the entrenchments of Breymann.

General Burgoyne, having now resolved to retreat to the

---

[1] The traces of Breymann's intrenchments are yet to be seen very plainly. They lie about twenty rods northwest of Mr. Leggett's house. The place is elevated considerably by nature, and is known among the farmers in the vicinity as Burgoyne's hill. This, however, is a misnomer. Properly, it is Breymann's hill. It was at the northwest corner of this eminence that Arnold was wounded.

It will be seen from this account of the action of October 7th — which is made up entirely of Riedesel's own journal — that the name "battle of *Bemis's* heights" — which has hitherto obtained when designating the scene of action, is entirely erroneous, and calculated to seriously mislead. The first action, on the 19th of September, was — as is well known — fought on Freeman's farm. But, with a few exceptions, it has always been supposed, even by the best informed writers on the subject, that the second battle of the 7th of October, was fought on, or at the base of *Bemis's heights*. The original maps of this action, however, as well as Riedesel's journal show, that the action began on ground about two hundred rods southwest of the site of the first battle at Freeman's farm, and ended on the *same* ground on which the first action was fought. Thus Bemis's heights is fully one mile and a half south of the battle ground. In fact, all the interest that attaches to these heights is, that they were the head quarters of General Gates during, and a short time previous to the action.

Battenkill, had the tents taken down during the night as quietly as possible, the whole army meanwhile remaining under arms. On the following morning (the 8th) the army left its fortified camp before daybreak, and marched toward the ground between bridges Nos. 1 and 2, in order to cover the train and hospital. The pickets behind their respective brigades formed the rear guard until the approach of day when they rejoined their several regiments. Scarcely had the outposts left their stations when the Americans, occupying them, threatened to attack the army in its new position. The latter was, of course, obliged to remain until the departure of the teams, and especially the hospital, which, otherwise, would have been exposed to the enemy's fire. The whole of the day was occupied by these preparations for the march, all of which were accomplished under the fire of the Americans. The outposts were consequently kept engaged with the enemy, and the cannons continually fired to prevent the latter's advance.

To prevent the army being molested in the rear, Burgoyne, at twelve M., sent Lieutenant Colonel Southerland with the 9th and 47th, toward Swords's house; the light troops, hitherto stationed there, preceding the main body to reconnoitre the roads. As soon as it had grown dark, the pontoons were quietly taken up; and at ten o'clock, the advance guard, led by Riedesel, began its march. Its rendezvous was near Swords's house, whence it marched in the following order: The Indians and provincials, under Captains Fraser and McKay, the extreme van; then came the Brunswickers and the light battalion; then the two English regiments under Lieutenant Colonel Southerland; then the heavy artillery and all the teams of the army; last of all General Burgoyne with the rest of the army in two columns. The Germans were consequently ahead, and Lord Balcarras, with the English regiments, in the rear. The bateaux, with the remaining stores, followed the main body on the right bank of the Hudson. As it was impossible, with the lack of transportation, to take along the hospital, numbering

over eight hundred sick and wounded, and it being equally difficult to defend so long a line of march, these unfortunates had to be left to the magnanimity of the enemy. Doctor Hess remained with them, and a letter of recommendation was given him to General Gates.

During the time that the army was lying in the camp at Freeman's farm, Mrs. General Riedesel occupied a little house about an hour's march behind the army. She was accustomed to visit her husband every morning at the camp to inquire after his health. Sometimes he came over, accompanied by a few officers, and took dinner with her. As the season had become more inclement, a house twenty feet square, made of logs, filled in with clay, was built for Mrs. Riedesel. It was called the Block house, and was situated very near her husband's camp.[1] She was to have moved into it the very day that the army began the retreat.

It was three o'clock in the afternoon when General Fraser, mortally wounded, was brought up from the field on a clumsy litter into the house, where Mrs. Riedesel, in great anguish, awaited the termination of events. The pine table was quickly cleared off and carried out of the room, its place being supplied by a bed on which the wounded man was laid. Amazing change! On the very spot where the unfortunate general was to have sat and partaken of the joyous meal, was now his death

---

[1] This block house was standing until within the last twenty years about half way between Wilbur's basin and Bemis's heights. It was built after the regular model of a block house with the upper story projecting. Hence, the name given it at the time. Mr. Lossing in presenting a picture of it in his beautiful *Book of the Hudson*, states that Fraser was brought to this house, where he died. But this is manifestly incorrect, and for two reasons: 1st, Mrs. Riedesel says in so many words in her journal, that the retreat prevented her occupying this house; and, 2d, she states that when the corpse was brought out, many of the cannon balls aimed at the funeral cortege flew not far from her, and that she "distinctly saw her husband" assisting at the burial. It is also stated in the text a few pages on, that Mrs. Riedesel saw *from her* house the obsequies. But this new block house was not less than two miles from the place of burial, with dense woods between. The block house was also at this time in flames (*vide* her *Journal*, page 121), although the fire was afterwards extinguished.

bed.[1] Other wounded men and officers were shortly brought in and laid in the hall and other corners of the small house. Finally, in the evening, General Riedesel, accompanied by his adjutants, called in for a little while to convince his wife that he was still safe. As this room was the only one which could be occupied by Mrs. Riedesel, her children were obliged to sleep in it. She, herself, spent the night with another lady — Lady Harriet Ackland, whose husband had been severely wounded and captured this same day.

The dying general was never unconscious. When General Riedesel came to him in the evening, he requested that he might be buried at four o'clock the next afternoon in the embankment No. 1. This had always been with him a favorite spot, on account of the beauty of the view. With perfect resignation he awaited his end, which he felt confident was near at hand. His chief sources of grief were for his wife, and for General Burgoyne and his army. At eight o'clock on the following morning he expired. After washing the corpse and wrapping it in a winding sheet, he was placed on the bed and covered up with a sheet. Madame Riedesel, with her children, came back into the room after this had been done, and remained with the body, as there was no other place for her to stay, Burgoyne had the deceased general interred, according to his last wish, in the spot selected, with all military honors.[2] Notwithstanding, the engagement was again renewed on this day, Burgoyne and suit were present at the burial, and remained

---

[1] This allusion is to the fact that the day of the battle Fraser was to have dined with Mrs. General Riedesel in the company of her husband and General Phillips. All of these details, including an extremely graphic and affecting account of Fraser's death, are given in full by Mrs. Riedesel in her entertaining *Letters and Journals*. Without again referring to this work, we may say here that this book ought to be read by every one who peruses these volumes.

[2] This spot is now (1867) marked by two tall pines that stand like two grim sentinels over the remains of the gallant general. The hill, on the top of which the latter was buried, stands some forty rods west of the river road from Schuylerville to Stillwater, and about two hundred rods north of Wilbur's basin (bridge No. 2). The Champlain canal passes close to its base.

while Chaplain Brudenel delivered a lengthy sermon. The Americans perceiving the generals gathered upon the height, pointed a gun at them; and during the delivery of the discourse, the cannon balls whizzed over the heads of the mourners. Certainly it was a real military funeral — one that was unique of its kind.[1]

Mrs. General Riedesel from her house could look out upon the obsequies.[2] She knew that her husband was there, and was in danger from every cannon shot; that, indeed, he also might find his grave on that very spot. Fortunately the Americans fired too high, so that their shots did no execution.

In order that the retreat of the army might be kept secret from the enemy, the troops were ordered to move as quietly as possible, and keep the watch fires burning brightly. Riedesel arrived at two in the morning with the advance at Dovogat's house. Here he received orders from Burgoyne to halt. He met at this point his family; and being completely worn out by the exertions of the last few days, and the halt lasting longer than he supposed, he entered the carriage of his wife designing to rest for a few moments. But resting his head upon his wife's shoulder, he slept soundly for three hours.

Riedesel, like every one else, supposed that this halt of the advance guard was only for the purpose of awaiting the main body; but the latter coming up in the course of an hour, and Burgoyne ordering them to form into two lines and encamp, every one, who had any idea of the position of the army, were astonished. The army could easily have marched during the entire night, which was not very dark, and have reached Saratoga at daybreak. A bridge across the Hudson could then have at once been begun without molestation. It was believed,

[1] Madame Riedesel says in her book that the army was prevented from starting sooner in consequence of this funeral, and that General Burgoyne thereby lost precious time. But we have seen, not only that the army was occupied in preparations for its departure, but that Burgoyne did not intend to start before night in order to avail himself of the darkness.— *Note in the original.*

[2] Compare note on page 167.

however, that the army would certainly continue its march by daybreak; but Burgoyne ordered it to a position where it was forced to remain until four in the afternoon. Thus, the advantage, which the army had gained, was completely lost by this hesitation; for the enemy at once availed themselves of this delay to send as many troops as possible behind the English across the river; and thus they not only prevented them from building a bridge, but rallied the nearest townships on the opposite side, and effectually opposed the crossing of the army. The gathering of the Americans on the eastern shore could easily be seen; while, at the same time, firing on the patrols and the bateaux became constantly more frequent.

At four in the afternoon, the march was resumed; and it was specially ordered that every assistance should be extended to the teams which carried the baggage. This last order, however, was in vain. It rained all day: the roads, already in a terrible condition, rapidly grew worse; and the teams, soon sticking fast in the mud, were unable to proceed. Thus, all the regiments lost both their teams and baggage.

In the evening the weary army arrived at Saratoga and crossed the Fishkill. The night was dark and cold. The rain poured down in torrents; and, wet to the skin, the soldiers were forced to encamp. General Burgoyne had his head quarters in a house near Saratoga, belonging to the American General Schuyler. Hamilton's brigade (the 20th, 21st and 62d), remained on this side of the Fishkill and were stationed on an eminence, south of that creek, for the protection of head quarters. The bateaux, at the junction of the Fishkill and the Hudson, were subjected to the fire of the Americans the entire night.

On the 10th of October, the patrols reported to Burgoyne that the enemy had taken possession of the Battenkill on the opposite bank of the Hudson. That general, therefore, considering it too hazardous to attempt the passage of the river, ordered the army to take a position for the present on the

heights of Saratoga until a place could be found for crossing the stream. Lieutenant Colonel Southerland, with the 9th and 47th, and a few Canadian volunteers under Captain McKay, were detached for this purpose and ordered to repair a bridge opposite Fort Edward — Captain Twiss of the engineers being sent with the party to superintend the work.

At two in the afternoon, the Americans occupied Saratoga, and Brigadier Hamilton, being no longer able to maintain his position, was obliged to wade across the Fishkill and unite with the main body. As soon as Burgoyne was forced to leave his head quarters, General Schuyler's mansion, together with several other houses, were burned to the ground, set on fire by wicked hands.[1] Upon reaching Saratoga, the enemy at once took possession of the heights just vacated by Hamilton. A few brigades of the Americans now attempted to cross the river, but were prevented by the English cannon.

Upon leaving Schuyler's mansion, Burgoyne made his head quarters in the centre of the army, but was forced, by a battery of the enemy on the opposite bank, to leave the place the same evening. The heavily laden bateaux were now emptied of all their provisions, as it was found impossible otherwise to row them up the stream. During the ensuing night, the army fortified itself as well as it was able; for it was ascertained that the enemy had come around the left wing, for the purpose of attacking the centre. As the Americans were already on the other bank of the river, the position of the royal army was, perhaps, the best under the circumstances; nevertheless, it was

---

[1] Mrs. Riedesel states, that these buildings were fired by the orders of Burgoyne Many of Schuyler's mills were burned at the same time.— *Note in the original.*

The present Schuyler mansion which was rebuilt soon after by Schuyler, stands a few yards northeast of the site of the one burnt by Burgoyne. It will hardly be credited, but such is the fact, that the timber was cut down in its native state and drawn from the forest, and the house rebuilt and put in complete readiness for the reception of the family, in the space of fifteen days! It should be stated, however, that Schuyler had the assistance of the entire army of Gates for this purpose. This fact was related to the translator by Mr. Stover, whose father was in Gates's army.

very precarious. A few English regiments occupied a kind of redoubt on the left wing in order to prevent the enemy crossing the Fishkill. The English and Germans in the centre of the right wing were, however, differently situated; for from the side of the Fishkill the whole line was within reach of the enemy's batteries. The heights on the opposite bank of the river were so near, that the Americans could easily establish batteries, and threaten the rear of the entire line, besides subjecting the extreme wing to the fire of musketry. A battery of a few twelve and six-pounders was placed on the right flank to prevent the enemy from crossing the Battenkill — where the water was very shallow — and capturing the artillery and stores. The yägers, the grenadier battalion of Brunswickers, and the regiment of Rhetz, were stationed in the centre. In front of these troops was an eminence, from the top of which the enemy's fortifications could easily have been reached with guns, but it could not be occupied, as the line of the army was too weak to allow of its further extension. The works on the fortifications progressed very slowly. The soil being very rocky they could not be finished in a night, but had to be worked at in the day time under a constant fire. Before daybreak of the 11th, the two American brigades had crossed the Fishkill, and surprised a post consisting of one officer and sixty men of the 62d. Shortly after they attacked the bateaux; and, capturing the boatman, sailed in them down the river. All this was the work of a few minutes, for when the royal troops fired at them with cartridges, they had already made good their retreat. The army was under constant fire the whole day, both in front and rear. The outposts were continually engaged with those of the enemy; and of the detached patrols, many were captured in that woody region. This happened especially to the light Brunswick troops, who, being in front of the centre, were the farthest out, and were obliged to keep up communication with the English troops of the left wing by patrols. That he might receive timely warning of any attempt to sur-

round this wing, Burgoyne put inquiries on foot by which he learned that a strong detachment had been sent into the vicinity of Fort Edward, for the purpose of cutting off his retreat in that direction. Lieutenant Colonel Southerland, who had been within a mile of Fort Edward, had reported only the day previous, that as yet, he had met with none of the enemy, and that the bridge was more than half finished. It was, therefore, with no little surprise that he received orders on this day to suspend work and return with his troops to the army. He at once obeyed, leaving Captain McKay with his company at the bridge. The latter subsequently succeeded in making good their escape to Ticonderoga.[1]

In the evening, Burgoyne sent for Generals Riedesel and Phillips, and represented to them the difficult position of the army, with which, however, those generals were as well, if not better acquainted than himself. He explained the impossibility of attacking and cutting his way through the enemy under these circumstances. General Riedesel then proposed to leave the baggage behind and retreat on this side of the Hudson; and, as Fort Edward had probably been reenforced by the above mentioned detachment of the enemy, he further proposed to cross

---

[1] "The situation of the army at this time," says the *Auxiliaries*, "became more and more desperate. The troops of the Americans seemed to be constantly increasing at all those points through which our troops, who were already surrounded, wished to pass. Gates, himself, was behind them with his army. He thought the moment had now arrived when he could carry his point with the least possible sacrifice of blood. This was the reason hitherto why he would not listen to his generals when they urged him to attack the enemy's camp. His design was, either to allow himself to be attacked, or cut off the British army, of whose precarious condition he had been informed. 'I know Burgoyne' — so he said among other things — 'he is an old gambler, and will set everything upon one throw.'"

A passage also, from the same source, brings out Burgoyne's generalship in still worse colors. "Lieutenant Colonel Southerland had advanced to within three miles of Fort Edward, when he sent back a report of its condition, on the 10th, to the effect that there were only 100 Americans in the fort. But instead of sending word to seize and occupy the same without loss of time, Burgoyne sent Southerland the surprising order to fall back instantly upon the army! When marching back in obedience to this order, he left McKay with a section of Indians and provincials at a bridge opposite the fort, who, afterward, safely made their way to Ticonderoga."

the river four miles above that fort, and continue the march to Fort George. This plan, moreover, was the most feasible, as the road this side of the Hudson had not as yet been occupied by the enemy. Burgoyne, however, could not make up his mind that evening, but allowed the precious moments to pass by unimproved.

The captured bateaux were of great use to the Americans, who had hitherto been in great want of just such things. They were now able to transport troops across the river at their pleasure, and thus reenforce all the posts on the road to Fort Edward, and expand more and more in front of the royal troops. They also erected three batteries on the opposite shore, from which they directed a fire on the rear of the army. The outposts, as before stated, were constantly fighting, and could only be protected by strong patrols led by officers. Every hour the position of the army grew more critical, and the prospect of salvation grew less and less. There was no place of safety for the baggage; and the ground was covered with dead horses that had either been killed by the enemy's bullets, or by exhaustion, as there had been no forage for several days. Who would care for the poor animals when every one had enough to do in caring for his own preservation! Even for the wounded, no spot could be found which could afford them a safe shelter — not even, indeed, for as long a time as might suffice for a surgeon to bind up their ghastly wounds. The whole camp was now a scene of constant fighting. The soldier could not lay aside his arms day or night, except to exchange his gun for the spade when new entrenchments were to be thrown up. The sick and wounded would drag themselves along into a quiet corner in the woods, and lie down to die upon the cold, damp ground. Nor even here were they longer safe, since every little while a ball would come crashing down among the trees. The few houses that were at the foot of the mountain, were nearest to the enemy's fire; notwithstanding which, the sick and wounded officers dragged themselves hither, seeking protection in their vaulted cellars. Order grew more and more lax.

At three in the afternoon, Burgoyne had another council of war with Riedesel and Phillips. The two brigadiers, Gall and Hamilton, were also summoned. Riedesel insisted upon the plan recommended by him the day before, being convinced that in that only was there a possibility of safety. Burgoyne, not being able to oppose this plan, consented to it after the other members of the council had expressed the same opinion. The army had still sufficient rations for six days, which, it was understood, were to be distributed among the men the same evening. Toward ten o'clock the army was to start. General Riedesel was to lead the advance, and General Phillips the rear guard. Accordingly, precisely at ten, the former had his men rallied, and sent word to Burgoyne, by Captain Gerlach, that everything was ready for the march. But instead of orders for marching, the adjutant brought back the discouraging answer, that it was too late in the evening to start, and that the army must, therefore, remain in its present quarters. When General Riedesel received this answer, he felt as if he was struck by a thunderbolt; but being well trained to obedience, he made the best of it.

General Riedesel had among his papers the document relating to the proceedings of this council of war written in the German language; and, as it relates, in the best and most explicit manner, all the different points of the consultation, we will give it a place here. It reads as follows:

"RECORD OF THE COUNCIL OF WAR, HELD ON THE HEIGHTS OF SARATOGA, OCTOBER 12TH, 1777.

"*Members of the Council of War.*

Lieutenant General Burgoyne.
Major General Phillips.
Major General Von Riedesel.
Brigadier General Hamilton.
Brigadier General Gall.

"Lieutenant General Burgoyne placed before the council of war for their consideration the following situation of the army: According to the most reliable intelligence, the enemy have over 14,000 men this side of the Fishkill, together with considerable artillery. An attack is threatened from this quarter. On the other side of the Hudson river, between our army and Fort Edward, is another force of the enemy, the strength of which could not be ascertained; but one corps, that has been seen, is, according to a report, estimated at 1,500 men. The enemy also have cannon on the heights, on the other side of the river. They also have built a bridge across the Hudson below the church at Saratoga,[1] for the better communication of these two armies.

"Our bateaux are ruined and captured, so that it would be impossible to construct a bridge, even if the enemy did not molest us.

"The only way open to us for a retreat is, either to cross a ferry near Fort Edward, or march on the heights and cross another one farther up the river, or, finally, to march on the heights clear up[2] to the end of the Hudson river; thence, leaving Lake George to the right, in a westerly direction through the woods to Ticonderoga.

"It must be remembered that this route was never used by any one except small parties of Indians.

"In order to transport cannon and teams, bridges will have to be rebuilt and repaired, and this, too, under the enemy's fire from the other shore. It will take from fourteen to fifteen hours to finish the main bridge. No good position can be had for the defense of the wood; and the time expended will give the enemy an opportunity to occupy the height near Fort Ed-

[1] The site of this church is a few rods south of the present Schuyler mansion, on the turnpike from Schuylerville to Stillwater, and near the spot where the tory Lovelace was hung. Mr. Stover, who, as mentioned in a preceding note, owns and resides in the Schuyler mansion, has the skull of this tory spy.

[2] Not an elegant expression, but one that expresses accurately the sense of the original.

ward, while General Gates could attack us in the rear. News, received from deserters and the friends of the king, assure us that General Clinton has captured Fort Montgomery. This is reported to us in detail by a reliable man.

"We have provisions sufficient to last for twenty days, but we have no rum or beer. This is the condition of things, which the lieutenant general laid before the council of war in order to hear its opinion regarding the following propositions:

"First. To wait, in this position, for coming, fortunate events.

"Secondly. To attack the enemy.

"Thirdly. To retreat, repair the bridges on the march, and thus, with the artillery and baggage, force the ferry near Fort Edward.

"Fourthly. To retreat by night, leaving the artillery and baggage behind; cross above Fort Edward or march round Lake George; or,

"Fifthly. In case the enemy should move more to the left, to force our passage to Albany.

"The first article was objected to; first, for the reason that the situation of the army would only grow worse by remaining any longer — on account of the scarcity of provisions — there scarcely being a sufficient quantity to last until the army reached Lake George; to say nothing of the army being forced to march around Lake George. Secondly, as it was not to be supposed that the enemy would attack our army in its entrenched camp, as he had not done it when the army was not entrenched.

"The second proposition is not available, because there is no opportunity for reconnoitering, and as it is known that the Americans are very strong.

"The third proposition is impracticable.

"The fifth proposition was considered worthy of consideration by Lieutenant General Burgoyne, Major General Phillips and Brigadier General Hamilton, but the position of the enemy did not offer an opportunity for it.

"The fourth proposition was, therefore, accepted as practicable, and it was to be executed with the greatest secrecy and quietness. The army was to march toward the right, in the same order as it stood. N. B. No provisions having been distributed among the men, they were to get their rations at the outset for six days. In the meantime, patrols were to be sent out for the purpose of ascertaining whether the army could march for four miles without being seen; and it was to be determined, after the distribution of the rations, whether the army was to retreat at night, or on the following morning.

"The patrols returned, and reported that there were so many of the enemy's detachments on our right wing, that it would be impossible to start without being detected."

General Riedesel, who translated this from the English language, adds on the margin the following remarks:

"General Riedesel's Remarks in regard to the Council of War.

"General Riedesel insisted on the adoption of the fourth article, until it was finally approved by the rest of the members of the council; but after it was ascertained that there were no rations distributed, a distribution of them for six days was at once ordered; and if this distribution should be finished by ten o'clock the same evening, then the retreat was to be commenced that very night. At ten o'clock, Riedesel sent a report by Quarter Master General Captain Gerlach, that the rations had been distributed; at the same time, asking for marching orders. The answer was, 'The retreat is postponed: the reason why is not known.' That evening *the retreat was possible.*[1] A movement of the enemy made it impossible the following day.

"Article fifth has been discussed; but all the members of the council believing that it was impossible to carry it out, and

[1] The *italics* are my own.— *W. L. Stone.*

Riedesel, believing that a retreat was still possible, th ught the time too precious to enter upon other unnecessary debates which would not lead to the accomplishment of the purpose.

"On the following day, the retreat of the army had become utterly impossible; for, during the night, the army was entirely surrounded by the Americans; the latter placing a strong guard of observation on an eminence upon the right flank of the royal army.[1] They had crossed the river on rafts, near the Battenkill, for this very purpose."

General Burgoyne, in all due form, again called together a council of war, to which, besides the generals, all of the brigadiers and commanders of regiments were invited.

We will give the proceedings of this council, also *verbatim*, as they are written by General Riedesel himself.

"MINUTES OF THE SECOND COUNCIL OF WAR, HELD ON THE AFTERNOON OF THE 13TH OF OCTOBER, 1777.

"The lieutenant general laid before this council the same propositions as before the last one, with this addition — that the enemy was now entrenched on the heights of Fort Edward, holding, also, a strong position before Forts Edward and George. He stated that he was willing to hazard everything that appeared in the least possible according to the strength and spirit of the army. He also added that he had reason to believe that

---

[1] I. e., on the *left* bank of the Hudson. Morgan and his sharp shooters also occupied an eminence some forty rods west of Mr. William B. Marshall's house on the road from Schuylerville to Fort Miller. Mr. Marshall resides (1867) in the house occupied during the cannonade by Mrs. Riedesel.

Although it is not mentioned here, nor in the *Auxiliaries* that the enemy had erected a battery on the *right* bank of the Hudson (i. e., the Schuylerville side), a little to the *north* of Burgoyne's army as well as on its rear and flanks, yet such was the fact as is evident from the tradition of the inhabitants, and also from the remnants of the fortifications still to be seen. This battery was on the top of a knoll about forty rods northwest of the farm house now (1867) standing on the bank of the river and owned and tenanted by Mr. William Allen. This fact shows more fully the completeness of the investment of the royal army.

a few — perhaps all those who were acquainted with the situation — were in favor of capitulation; and in consideration of these circumstances he had considered it his duty to his country to extend the custom of war beyond its usual limits in order that all the members of the council, then present, might be looked upon as the representatives of the whole army.

"He also told them, that he would consider it inexcusable, should he enter upon such negotiations without their opinions. For this reason, he would now lay before the council the following questions:

"First. Whether an army, consisting of 3,500 combatants, could enter into an agreement with the enemy, that should be honorable and not detrimental to the national honor? The response to this was unanimously in the affirmative.

"Secondly. Whether this was the case in relation to the situation of this army? To this question, also, the response was unanimously in the affirmative.

"Thirdly. Whether the situation of this army was such as to make an honorable capitulation really detrimental? Upon this Riedesel laid before the council the propositions which he was to send to General Gates. As can be seen in the public journals, they were unanimously adopted, and the negotiations entered upon."

"REMARKS OF GENERAL RIEDESEL TO THE ABOVE.

"In the second council of war, in which all the commanders of battalions and corps participated, an honorable capitulation was agreed upon, after every opportunity for retreat had been neglected. It is to be supposed that General Burgoyne was resolved upon this, because the conditions of the capitulation had already been perused by him before the council of war had been called together."

The details of this treaty as they were proposed by Burgoyne are not published in full by the papers, nor the alterations and

additions made by General Gates. They are only published as they were finally agreed upon by the two generals.[1]

General Burgoyne, after this council of war, wrote to General Gates, requesting permission to send him a staff officer, "in order to negotiate affairs of importance to both armies." A drummer was sent with this letter into the American camp. He returned with a polite answer from the American general to the effect that at ten o'clock the next morning, a staff officer would be expected by the outposts of the army of the *United States.*

We will here quote the negotiations *verbatim*, as we find them in Riedesel's journal.

"*The 14th October.* The deputed adjutant general of General Burgoyne reached the outposts of the enemy's army, and offered to General Gates the propositions for negotiations, and an armistice while the preliminary articles were being considered by the latter general; provided, of course, that Gates deemed it worth while to consider them. As an answer to this, Gates gave Major Kingston a copy of six articles as a preliminary for the capitulation. An armistice until sunset was agreed upon; and both armies were accordingly apprised of it. It was also understood that upon the expiration of the truce, General Gates was to receive an answer from Burgoyne. Toward noon the latter called another council of war, and laid before it the articles of General Gates. The first of these articles stipulated that '*the army should surrender as prisoners of war,*' the last, that '*the troops should ground their arms in the entrenchments where they now stood, and then march off to their destination.*' All the members of the council declared that they would sooner spill their last drop of blood, or die of starvation, before they would submit to such humiliating conditions. Accordingly, at sunset, Major Kingston was sent by

[1] The details of this treaty are to be found in Stedman's *History of the North American War*, part 1st, page 437.

General Burgoyne to Gates with the answer that all negotiations must cease unless he relinquished his proposed articles — the entire army being resolved '*to throw themselves with the greatest desperation upon the enemy, rather than accept such conditions.*' At the same time that Major Kingston returned the articles to Gates, he gave him those of Burgoyne, which were to the effect '*that a capitulation could never be thought of under any conditions excepting those that were in the document.*'" The armistice ceased, and Major Kingston returned.

"The 15th. It seemed now as if negotiations were at an end. But at ten o'clock in the morning, an adjutant from General Gates very unexpectedly arrived at our outposts bearing the propositions of General Burgoyne with the signature of Gates. All the propositions were agreed to, and only one article was added, namely: '*That this capitulation was to take place at two o'clock on the afternoon of the same day and to be signed by Burgoyne; also, that at five o'clock in the afternoon, the army should leave their lines that they might be prepared on the following day to begin their march to Boston.*'

"This sudden change in General Gates, and the annexed pressing article that the whole affair should be closed as quickly as possible, appeared singular to Burgoyne, and caused him to call another council of war. It was then resolved to inform General Gates that General Burgoyne would accept the last proposition; but as these were only the preliminaries, and as several things had to be arranged before Burgoyne could sign the capitulation, the time was too limited, and Burgoyne would, therefore, propose that staff officers should be sent to arrange the details of the treaty for their mutual signatures.

"Lieutenant Colonel Southerland and Captain Gregg were appointed on our side. The commissioners met near the ruins of Schuyler's house, and remained together until eleven o'clock at night. All that we asked was granted; and our commissioners, who were empowered to effect a settlement, promised for Burgoyne and themselves that the treaty should be returned

the following morning. The armistice was therefore prolonged; and in the afternoon all of the troops were paid off.

"The 16th. The unexpected arrival of a provincial in the night at once put a stop to the completion of the treaty. Indeed, it came very near being entirely overthrown. This man stated that he had heard, through a third party, that General Clinton had captured the fortifications on the highlands, and had arrived with the troops and fleet at Æsopus eight days previous; and further, that by this time, he was very likely at Albany. Burgoyne and a few other officers were so encouraged by this news, that they were greatly in favor of breaking the treaty. The council of war was accordingly once more called together, and the following questions laid before it:

"1st. Whether a treaty, which was about being completed by his deputies, and which he himself had promised to sign, could be broken? Fourteen voices against eight decided this question in the negative.

"2d. Whether the report of a man, whom nobody knew, was sufficient in our present situation to justify our refusal of so advantageous a treaty? The same number of votes decided this also in the negative. Nor could the decision have been different. Everything rested on mere hearsay. Had this man been sent by Clinton, or had he seen the army himself, the matter would have been very different.

"3d. Whether the common soldiers possessed sufficient spirit to defend the present position of the army to the last man? All the officers of the left wing answered this in the affirmative. Those of the centre and left wings gave a similar answer, provided the enemy were attacked; but the men were too well acquainted with their defective position to display the same bravery in case they were themselves attacked.

"Finally, in order to gain time, it was resolved that Burgoyne should inform Gates by letter that he had been told by deserters and other reliable persons that he had sent a considerable corps of his army toward Albany, and that this being contrary to all

faith, he (Burgoyne) could not give his signature without being convinced that the American army outnumbered his own by at least three or four to one; Gates should therefore name an officer of our army who might see for himself the number of the enemy; and should Burgoyne, after hearing this officer's report, be convinced of the superior numbers of the Americans, he would at once sign the treaty. General Gates received this letter with considerable *nonchalance*, but replied that he would give his word of honor that his army was just as strong now as it was previous to the treaty, and that having since then been reenforced by a few brigades, it certainly did outnumber ours four to one, and this, too, without counting those troops that were on the other side of the Hudson and at Half Moon. He also gave Burgoyne to understand what it meant to break his word of honor, and offered to show his whole army to Burgoyne after the latter had signed the treaty, when he would find that everything he had stated was true. He then closed by giving Burgoyne no longer than one hour in which to answer, stating that at the expiration of that time he would adopt the most stringent measures.

"The council of war, which was thereupon convened for the last time, had as little to say in answer to this reply of Gates, as Burgoyne himself; and the latter finally signed the following treaty, which was at once sent to General Gates:

"TREATY.

"I. The troops under the command of Lieutenant General Burgoyne, will leave their entrenchments with their artillery, with all military honors, and will march to the shore of the Hudson river, to the place formerly occupied by the old fort, where they will leave their guns and artillery.

"II. A free passage to England will be granted to the troops of General Burgoyne on the condition that they shall serve no more during the war in North America. The harbor of Bos-

ton is designated as the place for the embarkation of the troops, unless General Howe otherwise directs.

"III. In case a cartel should take place by which all of these troops or a part thereof are exchanged, then *Article II* shall be declared void as far as the exchange is concerned.

"IV. The troops, under Lieutenant General Burgoyne, will march upon the shortest and most commodious road to Massachusetts bay, and, as circumstances dictate, are to be quartered in or around Boston. The march of said troops shall not be delayed in case of transports arriving on which they can embark.

"V. The troops, during the march, and in their quarters, are to be furnished (according to the promise of General Gates) with the same rations as the troops of his own corps — if possible. Horses and draught cattle, and also forage shall be furnished at the usual price for the use of officers.

"VI. All officers shall retain their wagons, horses and other animals; and no baggage shall be inspected nor neglected; General Burgoyne giving his word of honor that nothing belonging to the king shall be hidden among them. General Gates will take the necessary precautions for the carrying out of this article. He will also see to it that, if necessary, teams are wanted, they shall be furnished to the troops and officers at the usual price.

"VII. During the march, and as long as the troops remain in the province of Massachusetts bay, the officers, as far as circumstances will permit, shall not be separated from their men; and it is to be left to their own judgment to assemble their men as often as they consider it necessary for the preservation of discipline and order. The officers shall also receive quarters according to their rank.

"VIII. All sailors, working men, drivers, volunteer companies and other persons, being in, and belonging to the army of General Burgoyne, shall be considered as British subjects, and shall, in every way, be considered as included in this article — no matter of what country they may be.

"IX. All Canadians, in whatever service they were in the army of General Burgoyne, are to be permitted to return to their homes, and to march at once, under an escort, to the nearest British post. They shall also be furnished, during the march, with the same rations as the English troops, but they are to promise not to serve during the present war in America.

"X. Passes shall immediately be given to such officers (not above the rank of captain, and who shall be appointed by General Burgoyne) to bear dispatches to General Sir William Howe, Sir Guy Carleton and to England by the way of New York. General Gates promises by public trust and faith, that these dispatches shall not be opened, and that said officers, after receiving them, shall be carried by the shortest route and in the quickest manner to the place of their destination.

"XI. During the stay of the troops in the province of Massachusetts bay, the officers shall give their paroles, and retain their side arms.

"XII. If the troops of General Burgoyne find it necessary to send for their baggage and clothing to Canada, they shall be permitted to do so in the most convenient manner.

"XIII. These articles shall be signed by the respective generals to-morrow morning at nine o'clock, and the troops shall leave their camp at three in the afternoon.

"In the camp near Saratoga, October 16th, 1777.

"Signed "JOHN BURGOYNE."

"Signed "HORATIO GATES."

"Thus the final destiny of our army was sealed: an army which, according to the official list of losses, during the whole campaign against a quadruple force of the enemy, and in spite of the many fatigues, labors and troubles of a character never experienced on European ground, had never lost its courage in critical periods; an army which certainly would have done

everything that courage could accomplish — notwithstanding its numbering only 4,000 combatants — to escape the destiny that cannot be otherwise than painful to brave troops, had not the certainty of famishing in the woods caused its leaders to sooner surrender by mutual consent. Thus were saved the lives of the brave troops, who, with their blood and their best will had fought as long as possible for the rights of the British nation, and for a more glorious destiny for the crown of England.

"There is not, perhaps, a single instance in history, or certainly very few, where troops could be reconciled to a capitulation with so much honor." [1]

Thus much for the sketches in Riedesel's journal. This treaty is mentioned in other historical works; still, we have thought it best to give it in this connection, partly not to omit anything material to Riedesel's history, but more chiefly for the reason that we shall have to recur to several points of it, which have become the cause of many arguments and severe debates on both sides. Scarcely ever has there been so much said in regard to any treaty as this.

General Riedesel was deeply affected by these sad events. At eight o'clock in the morning of the 17th, he collected all the German troops, and informed them of their fate. In solemnity and in silence, and with drooping heads, the brave and tried warriors heard the words from the mouth of their beloved leader, whose voice, manly at all times, trembled on this occasion, and who was obliged to summon all of his self-control to hide his emotions. "It was no lack of courage on your part," said he, among other things, to his men, "by which this awful fate has come upon you. You will always be justified in the eyes of the world." He concluded his address, with the exhortation, that as good soldiers they should bear their mis-

[1] The idea of the writer is not quite clear. Riedesel probably meant to say that instances are rare in history where troops have been forced into so *honorable* a capitulation.

fortune with courage, and do their duty at all times, displaying order and discipline; for in so doing, they would retain the love of their sovereign, and the respect of their enemies.[1]

General Riedesel's next care was to save the colors. He, therefore, had them taken down from the flag staff, and gave them to his wife, who had them sewed up by a faithful soldier who was a tailor. Henceforth he slept upon them and fortunately saved them. What a dreary future was now in store for the weary soldier in this distant land! Certain of victory a few days ago after so many glorious battles, all prospect for honor and glory was lost in this campaign. In a few hours they were to lay down their arms, those arms with which they had so bravely fought against their enemies, those arms, too, that were now to be surrendered to the enemy, on whose will they were now dependent. Verily, a sadder fate than this cannot be imagined for a soldier!

At eleven o'clock, the army left their old fortified camp, and formed in line on the ground near the so called old fort,[2] this side of the Fishkill. Here they left their cannon and muskets. With a moist eye the artilleryman looked for the last time upon his faithful gun — parting with it as he would from a bride —

---

[1] Inwardly, however, Riedesel chafed exceedingly at the result and at the bad management which had brought it about. In the first moments of vexation he wrote to the reigning prince at Brunswick as follows:

"Your serene highness will understand by the accompanying report, now submitted to you, into what a desolate position our fine manœuvres have placed me and the troops of your highness. The reputation I have gained in Germany has been sacrificed to certain individuals, and I consider myself the most unfortunate man on earth."

But neither the court nor the public of Brunswick laid anything to the charge of Riedesel, or the troops. On the contrary, they felt the greatest sympathy with them in their unfortunate fate. This is shown, not only by the letters of Duke Charles, and Duke Ferdinand, the hereditary prince of Brunswick, but by the newspapers of that day, in which neither the troops nor their generals are in the slightest degree reproached. On the contrary, they acknowledge their good behavior.

[2] Fort Hardy, erected during the old French war and named after Governor Charles Hardy, the successor of Governor Clinton, lies in the northeast angle, made by the Fishkill and the Hudson. Its site can now with difficulty be traced.

and that, forever! With repressed tears the bearded grenadier placed his musket on the pyramid to take it up no more![1]

The army of General Gates, which was on this side of the Hudson, was formed in three lines. Three officers of the royal army (among them Captain Twiss of the engineers), having received orders from Burgoyne to count the troops of the enemy, found them to number between 13,000 and 14,000 men.[2] Subsequently, Gates handed Burgoyne the official list of the men in his army. The American troops on the other side of the Hudson were not counted. These consisted chiefly of militia from the surrounding townships of New Hampshire and Connecticut. General Gates received the captured generals on the other side of the Fishkill with great politeness. Taking them to his tent in the camp, he gave them a splendid dinner,[3] to which, also,

---

[1] "General Gates showed himself on this occasion exceedingly noble and generous toward the captives. That he might share in some manner their feelings, he commanded his troops to wheel round the instant they laid down their arms. He, himself, drew down the curtains of his carriage in which he had driven to the ground, and in which he was then seated.

"Before the soldiers parted with their muskets, they knocked off in their suppressed rage the butt ends; and the drummers stamped their drums to pieces, while tears trickled down the bronzed cheeks of the warriors."— *Brunswick Journal.*

The laying down of the arms took place at some distance from the American troops. According to one of the journals of one of the Brunswick officers, the muskets were not laid down but only piled together. This authority also states, that no American officer was present — others, that only Adjutant General Wilkinson. After the surrender, the British marched back without escort to the place where stood the hospitals (the present site of Alonzo Welsh's barns in Schuylerville), where they bivouacked that night.

[2] This estimate includes only the number contained in the *immediate* camp and lines of Gates as seen by the three officers in passing through them. The exact number of Gates's army — not counting the troops on the other side of the Hudson — was 22,350 men. This appears by the official list sent by Gates himself to Burgoyne. Counting those on the other or east side of the river, the American army must have been at least 25,000.

[3] This statement in regard to the *elegance* of the dinner is entirely different from the one given of the dinner in the Brunswick *Journal.* The latter says:

"General Burgoyne did not lose for a moment his sound sleep and good appetite. When he met General Gates, shortly after the signing of the treaty, in the American camp, he not only manifested his usual remarkable serenity and politeness, but had attired himself in full court dress, as if going to assist in some gala occasion,

the highest of the American generals were invited. The Americans acted with a great deal of decorum. No sign of scorn or pleasure at the misfortune of their enemies was visible upon their countenances. On the contrary, they manifested, on this occasion, their sympathy in a very becoming manner.

It was then that the English learned for the first time, the real condition of the enemy, which had hitherto been a secret to them. Certainly, a rare example in the history of war. The American army occupied the heights near the house of Bemis. This position was naturally a strong one, and had been still further strengthened by art. The right wing rested on the Hudson; while the front was covered by a muddy ditch behind

---

He wore costly regimentals bordered with gold, and a hat with streaming plumes. He had bestowed the greatest care on his whole toilet, so that he looked like a dandy rather than a warrior. The American general was dressed, on the contrary, merely in a plain blue overcoat which had upon it scarcely anything indicative of his rank.

"Upon the two generals first catching a glimpse of each other, they stepped forward simultaneously and advanced toward one another until they were only a few steps apart, when they stopped.* The English general took off his richly decorated hat in an elegant manner, and making a very polite bow, said, 'General, the caprice of war has made me your prisoner.' The American general, in reply, simply returned his greeting and said, 'You will always find me ready to testify that it was not brought about through any fault of your excellency.' Both generals were attended, on this occasion, by their staff officers. The American officers vied with their general in their civilities to the captured prisoners, and in efforts to make them forget their misfortunes.

"They then dined in Gates's tent, on boards laid across barrels, which served for a table. The dinner was served up in four dishes, which consisted of only ordinary viands, the American being accustomed to plain and frugal meals. The drink, on this occasion consisted of cider and rum, mixed with water. Burgoyne appeared at this time in excellent humor. He talked a good deal, and said many things flattering to the Americans. He, also, proposed a toast to General Washington, an attention that Gates returned by drinking the health of the king of England. Burgoyne ate and drank all the time with the greatest appetite, so that the German officers present were more than astonished at his demeanor under such circumstances. The American army was kept under arms as long as the dinner lasted."— *Manuscript Brunswick Journal.*

[* The site of this formal meeting of the two generals, is generally believed to have been where an old elm stands, on the main street in the village of Schuylerville. This, however, is a mistake. It was a few rods south by east of the present Schuyler mansion. The Champlain canal now passes over the exact spot where the two generals stood.]

which were the lines, having also a strong abatis in their front The left wing rested upon a height on the top of which was the so called school house. This also was covered by an abatis extending to the bottom of the hill. The heights were as steep in the rear, as in the front of the lines; and upon these heights stood the army behind still other fortifications.

This same day, the troops marched to the ground, where, on the 8th, the army had left its position, the same spot, in fact, where their pontoons had been thrown across the river. The following day they encamped at this spot, the generals going on as far as Stillwater, six miles beyond. On the next day (the 18th) the other troops under the protection of a brigade, commanded by the American general, Glover, also arrived there. They were to have continued their march across the Hudson the same day, but there being a scarcity of rafts, only the English were sent across. The latter accordingly bivouacked on the other side, the Germans remaining on this. General Riedesel continued his march twenty-five miles further to Albany in the company of General Glover. Here he met Generals Burgoyne and Phillips. An adjutant of the former, Lieutenant Willford, had been sent in advance to Albany, in order to ask General Gates whether a few of the German officers could not be exchanged according to the treaty, and return to Canada. The American general answered that he could not exchange any more until he had received the necessary orders regarding it from General Washington, since it had only been a matter of courtesy on his part toward General Burgoyne and his army, that he had permitted three English officers to leave the army. This, however, did not include the German officers as he had already stated.

General Burgoyne, thereupon, at the solicitation of Riedesel, who considered the German troops slighted on this occasion, again appealed to General Gates. General Riedesel justly perceived in this negligence toward the German officers a partiality.

On the journey to Albany, they passed by Half Moon on the Mohawk. This post was manned by nearly 4,000 men, under the direction of Gates, for the purpose of covering his rear, and also for the sake of having a position to fall back upon in case of a retreat. It was well selected and fortified.

Generals Burgoyne and Riedesel took up their abode at Albany, in General Schuyler's house, the same general whose house and mills at Saratoga had been destroyed by the former. Burgoyne, embarrassed by the friendly manner in which he was received, expressed his regret to the American general in regard to this circumstance, and endeavored to excuse himself. Whereupon, Schuyler smilingly answered that it did not much matter, for in war, it could not be otherwise; an answer which, certainly, betrayed a noble trait of character.

General Schuyler was a descendant of a Holland family. He was married to a rich American lady, and was in prosperous and happy circumstances. After the surrender of Ticonderoga he rallied the fragments of St. Clair's brigade, and with these and a few militia men, whom he had also gathered, went to Half Moon. Out of this grew the army, which was afterward under the command of Gates, Schuyler having, in the meantime, resigned.

The inhabitants of Albany — a city, at that time, containing eight hundred houses — were rich, and mostly loyal to the cause of the king; and it was for this reason that a strong garrison of American troops were stationed here, and a fort erected.

On the 20th, the two nationalities of the royal army separated; the English regiments going to the left, across the Green mountains toward Stockbridge, and the German troops across the green woods. The latter crossed the Hudson this day, and marched, under the escort of a militia regiment, commanded by Colonel Ried, to Schaticoke. At Albany, they learned that General Clinton had actually taken Æsopus a few days since and burned it, but, hearing of the fate of the army

of Canada, had not dared to go further. On the same day (the 20th), the Germans encamped near New City.

On the 21st, Burgoyne dispatched his adjutant, Lord Petersen, Captain Gray and Captain Valency to New York. To the former, he entrusted his dispatches to the secretary of war in London, in which he announced these sad events.

The contents of this document are familiar. We cannot, however, omit to quote it for the reason that General Riedesel has made notes to his translation, which are of great interest so far as they contradict several points in Burgoyne's dispatch, and place them in another light. It reads as follows:

"My Lord: There was no possibility, since the 9th of September, when I sent my last report, to send letters to your excellency. I have now, my lord, to announce to you the events which have taken place in the army under my command since my last report; a series of hard work, bloody engagements and unceasing troubles.

"My only hope, after the savages had entirely deserted me, consisted in a final cooperation with the other army. The regular troops having melted down by many engagements to 3,500 men, of whom scarcely 2,000 were English, with short rations for only three days, and surrounded by over sixteen thousand enemies, without a possibility of retreat. I was forced to call a council of war, by whose unanimous voice I entered into negotiations with General Gates. The inclosed documents will show what an unexpected answer I received from the American general; and the noble resolution of the council of war, upon its reception, will certainly evoke the esteem of my lord toward that council.

"Before entering upon the details of these events, I consider it my duty to remark that I took the responsibility upon myself alone, of endeavoring to cross the Hudson and force a passage to Albany. I did not consider myself justified at that time in calling a council of war, because express orders and the season forbade such a course.

"After collecting provisions for thirty days, besides other necessaries for the expedition, and after building bridges and getting together the requisite number of bateaux, I crossed the Hudson on the 13th and 14th of September, and encamped the army on the heights and plains of Saratoga. The enemy was at this time near Stillwater.

"On the 15th, the army advanced to a good position at a place called Dovogat.

"On the 16th, several of the bridges had to be rebuilt and repaired. This was accordingly done by a party under a strong guard. At the same time a reconnoitering expedition was undertaken.

"On the 17th, the army advanced further to a point three or four miles distant from the enemy, building bridges on its march.

"On the 18th, the enemy was seen in considerable force, having come out with the intention of preventing us from building bridges, and perhaps of giving battle. As they could use on us no artillery, the bridge was finished under a scattering fire, which, however, was attended with inconsiderable loss.

"On the 19th, the passage across the ravine and the roads having been sufficiently reconnoitered, the army advanced in the following order: Brigadier General Fraser, supported by the corps of Breymann, the better to cross the ravine and not lose the advantage of the heights, took a circuitous route to the right, and afterward covered the march of the army in that direction. This corps, accordingly, marched in three columns, having the provincials, Canadians and savages on their front and flanks. The English regiments of infantry, led by myself, crossed the ravine in a direct southerly line; and, after reaching the height, formed in order of battle, in order to give Fraser's corps time to make the longer route, and also to equalize the left wing, which, under Generals Phillips and Riedesel, with the artillery and baggage, had taken the valley road in two columns. Several bridges had to be repaired on their way. Meanwhile, the 47th Regiment covered the bateaux.

"After the signal guns had been discharged at two o'clock, as had been agreed upon for the purpose of notifying the other column when one was ready, the march was continued. Soon after, a few patrols of the enemy fired upon the advance of the English regiments, but without effect. After an hour's march, however, the English regiments, forming the advance guard, were attacked and forced to retreat. They soon rallied, however, and were properly supported.

"As soon as the English columns came out of the woods, they dislodged the enemy by a few cannon shots from the houses, from the windows of which he had fired upon the pickets; and Brigadier Fraser, with the greatest precision, occupied an advantageous height to the right of the English line.

"At the same time, the enemy, who, from the nature of the ground, were well acquainted with our march, came out of his entrenchments intending to turn our right wing; but, being foiled by Fraser, he made a counter march, and with his entire force, attacked the English left wing. This movement the enemy could the easier carry out without our knowledge, as the country was entirely strange to us.

"Toward three o'clock, the three English regiments were severally attacked. This charge lasted until dark; and the enemy being constantly reenforced by fresh troops, the 20th, 21st and 62d English regiments were forced to remain under fire without intermission for four hours. The 9th Regiment was kept as a reserve. The English grenadiers, the 24th Regiment and the light infantry, were also under fire a considerable length of time. All these corps fought with their usual bravery.

"The Brunswick yägers and the corps of Breymann were also of great use; but it was found necessary for them to occupy the heights just left by Fraser. Thus, they were used only singly and occasionally.

"Major General Phillips, upon first hearing the firing, made his way through dense woods, taking with him Major Williams. I owe him many thanks for his counsels and his timely and per-

tinent assistance, especially in renewing the attack in a very critical moment, and in the way in which, unmindful of his own safety, he led the 20th Regiment.

"General Riedesel worked hard in bringing up a part of the left wing, and arrived just in time to attack the enemy with determination and bravery, at the moment that the left wing was sorely pressed by the enemy. The latter retreated in all directions, leaving us the battle field with five hundred dead, and three times that number wounded on his side. Owing to the darkness, we took but few prisoners.

"The conduct of officers and privates has been excellent throughout. Brigadier General Fraser took his position with much judgment. General Hamilton was engaged constantly, and acquitted himself with much honor. The artillery distinguished itself; and the brigade artillery, under Captain Jones who was shot dead, did extremely well.

"The army laid on their arms during the night and the following day, and subsequently took up an entrenched position within cannon shot of the enemy. The right wing was covered by a strong redoubt; and the left wing marched on to the plain to cover the stream which runs through it. Here also was our hospital, the 47th Regiment, the regiment Hesse Hanau and a corps of provincials encamped for greater safety on the plains.

"We found that the victory of the 19th had brought us no other advantage than honor; for the enemy, using all energy in fortifying his left and right wings, had rendered the latter already impregnable.

"On our side, also, it was necessary to throw up redoubts both on the heights and on the plain, where were our hospitals and depots. Their latter defenses were needed not only to secure the hospital against attack, but to make sure of a defensive position in case our army should make a move against the enemy's flank.

"On the 21st, a messenger arrived with a letter in cipher from General Clinton, wherein he notified me that he intended to attack Fort Montgomery in ten days. The letter was dated

the 10th of September. This is the only letter that I have received of the many which, perhaps, may have been sent by Sir William Howe and General Clinton. The messenger was sent back the same night to inform General Clinton of the critical position in which I was, and of the necessity of a diversion on his part in order to force General Gates to detach some troops from his army. The letter also stated that I was determined, if possible, to wait till the 12th of October for happy events.

"On the two following days, two disguised officers were sent by different roads with the verbal message that I still continued to fortify my camp, and keep watch of the enemy who were daily increasing in strength. On the 3d October, I found it necessary to cut down the rations of the soldiers in order to make our provisions last longer. This was accepted by the army without the least murmuring.

"The difficulties connected with a retreat into Canada was easily to be seen; and even if it had been possible, I did not wish to place General Gates in a position to operate against Sir William Howe. These circumstances caused me to retain this position against all risks as long as possible. I reasoned with myself thus. The expedition, which I command, is, according to the judgment of everybody an hazardous one. Circumstances may take place, which will enable General Gates to form a junction with General Washington, the consequence of which may make the whole war a failure on our part. The unsuccessful union with General Clinton and the impossibility of a retreat into Canada is only an accidental misfortune.

"I remained in this position up to the 7th of October. I received no intelligence in regard to the expected junction, and the term of my stay in that place would expire in five days. It was considered advisable to make a movement against the left wing of the enemy for the purpose of ascertaining whether or no it was possible to find a road by which this junction could be effected, or the enemy dislodged on his left wing.

"A detachment of 1,500 men with two twelve-pounders, six six-pounders and two howitzers, under my command, was ordered to march. I was accompanied by Generals Phillips, Riedesel and Brigadier General Fraser. The command of the right wing in camp was given to Brigadier General Hamilton; the left to Brigadier General Specht; and the centre to Brigadier Gall. The forces of the enemy, including their camp opposite to ours, amounted to double our number. Thus the strength of the detached command could not be made stronger than the above given number. I formed the marching corps when within three-quarters of a mile of the enemy's left wing. Captain Fraser's corps, with the savages, Canadians and provincials, had orders to march through the woods toward the left wing of the enemy, that by this movement they might keep the enemy in check.

"We were prevented from advancing any further by an attack of the enemy on our left wing, where the English grenadiers stood to cover our left flank. Major Ackland of the grenadiers withstood the attack firmly; but it was impossible for him to prevent the enemy extending his attack to the Germans who were stationed close to the grenadiers. Want of troops made it impossible to form a second line to support the attack on the left wing. Hitherto our right wing had not been attacked; but we soon found that the enemy, with a strong column, was marching around our right wing in order to turn it and cut off our retreat. The light infantry and the 24th Regiment were, therefore, ordered to form a second line, and cover the retreat to our camp.

"While this movement was in progress, the enemy, who had been reenforced, made a second attack upon our left wing, which, by a superiority of numbers, was forced to retreat. Whereupon, the light infantry and the 24th Regiment were obliged to move quickly forward to cover that portion of the troops which, otherwise, would have been cut off. It was here, that Brigadier Fraser was mortally wounded.

"The danger, which now threatened our whole camp, was of such a nature, that I sent orders to Generals Phillips and Riedesel to cover the retreat. This order was executed with the greatest precision. The cannon, under the command of Major Williams, had to be left behind, all the horses and most of the artillerymen being either dead or wounded.

"Scarcely had the troops reached their camp, when it was stormed by the enemy. The latter advanced, under the fire of musketry, grape and canister, against our lines, but they being defended with much valor by my Lord Balcarras commanding the light infantry and a part of a detachment of this expedition, the enemy, led by General Arnold, was repulsed and their leader himself wounded. Unfortunately, the enemy captured the entrenchments of the German reserve under Lieutenant Colonel Breymann, who was shot dead. In spite of my order to retake these redoubts, it was in no wise executed. By this misfortune, a road was left open for the enemy to fall upon our right flank and rear. Night coming on ended this affair.

"In this sad plight, the army was ordered, during the night, to leave its present position, and occupy the heights around our hospital, a movement which compelled the enemy to take up an entirely new position. This movement, with all the teams and artillery, was carried out without any loss; and, on the 8th, we offered battle to the enemy in our new position. Perceiving, however, that they intended to turn our right flank, and as nothing but a retreat to Saratoga could hinder this movement, the army started at nine o'clock in the evening. General Riedesel led the advance, and General Phillips the rear guard.

"This retreat, with the artillery and baggage, was accomplished under a fire of musketry from the enemy, without, however, the slightest loss. But we experienced the greatest difficulty in transporting the bateaux. A severe rain storm prevented the army from reaching Saratoga on this night; neither could the artillery and baggage cross the Fishkill the following day.

"When we came near Saratoga, a corps of the enemy, consisting of five or six hundred men, was noticed upon the heights in the vicinity of the barracks; but they at once retreated across the Hudson and formed a junction with a detachment of another corps on the opposite side of the river.

"On the 10th, it was considered advisable to send working men, under a strong escort, in advance to repair the bridges and roads leading to Fort Edward. The corps of Captain Fraser and McKay, and the 47th Regiment were dispatched for this purpose. But the enemy's army advancing and occupying the heights on the other side of the Fishkill with the object of crossing the river and making an attack, this detachment was ordered back. The provincials were left behind at the first bridge, which needed repairs, but being attacked, they ran away, and thus the working party could not complete the bridge. During this retreat, several bateaux were captured by the enemy, and a number of the men who guarded them killed or wounded.

"On the 11th, the attack on the bateaux was renewed. Several of them were taken and retaken; but the proximity of the enemy made it impossible for us to defend them any longer, and it was therefore ordered that the provisions should be brought on land, a command, which, under the musketry fire of the enemy, was executed only with the greatest difficulty.

"The possibility of a further retreat was now discussed by a council of war consisting of the generals. The minutes of this council are herewith inclosed.

"It was thought that the only chance of a retreat was in this plan, viz: That the soldiers should carry their rations; that the artillery and baggage should be left behind; and that the passage of the river should be effected above Fort Edward.

"Before, however, such a movement could be carried out, some patrols, who had been sent out, returned and announced that the enemy was strongly fortified upon the heights of Fort Edward, and that he was also encamped in considerable force

between Fort Edward and Lake George.[1] The opposite bank was likewise occupied by detachments of the enemy; while on this side of the river, their army was so near us, that it was impossible for our troops to march a mile without being detected.

"Meanwhile, the army of the enemy daily grew stronger by new arrivals of militia and volunteers, until it was estimated altogether at 16,000 men. His position was formed in the shape of a crescent, and was surrounded on all sides by such natural strong holds, that it could not be attacked with any possibility of success. In this situation our army took up the best position which it could find; and entrenched itself in the hope of succor; or, failing in this, in the next best hope of being attacked by the enemy. During the whole of this time the army rested on its arms, being cannonaded from all sides. Yes, the enemy's rifles reached even the line itself; happily, however, without great effect.

"Accurate measurements of the provisions still on hand were made; and after the condition of the army had been written down, a council of war was called, in which were included the battalion and corps commanders. The inclosed document contains the result of this council, a result which was inevitable in our situation and ought to be considered honorable. After the convention with General Gates had been concluded, the latter showed me his army, and I had the consolation to have as many witnesses, as my army numbered men, to the fact that its numbers were even greater than I have just now reported.[2]

"I take the liberty of referring you for further particulars to the verbal report of my adjutant, my Lord Peterson,[3] and avail myself of this occasion to recommend him to the favorable consideration of his majesty. This noble man, with his great talents, is capable of rendering great services to his country. His conduct, during the last campaign, was such as to earn for

[1] This was the force under Stark, alluded to in Riedesel's diary, a few pages back.
[2] I. e., 16,000.
[3] Paterson.

him the applause of everybody; and I am convinced that his merits are sufficient to procure for him the same advantage and honor which officers usually receive who announce auspicious tidings.

"I also append a statement of the dead and wounded, which, however, I cannot claim as perfectly accurate, since the separation of the troops has made it entirely impossible to give it correctly. The English officers have spilled their blood in profusion and with honor; and all who have fallen are worthy men, among whom the patriotic character of Major General Fraser will long be cherished by this army. Nor are those of the army who are still alive to be less honored.

"The life of a general is more exposed by reason of the kind of warfare carried on here, than elsewhere. Notwithstanding which, I have had the good fortune to remain alive. Whether I shall consider the salvation of my life as a fortune or a misfortune, depends on the decision of his majesty, in regard to my conduct, and upon the judgment of those who understand the military profession; also upon that of the impartial and respectable portion of my countrymen.

"I am, etc.,

"BURGOYNE."

"P. S. The inclosed is an accurate copy of that which I have sent by my Lord Petersen. Captain Gray, the bearer of this, is an officer of great merit, and is especially worthy of recommendation, since he has served with great diligence and integrity in this laborious campaign in spite of a wound which he received at Hubert town, and which is not yet entirely cured."[1]

---

[1] This was a copy sent to Lord St. Germain. Captain Gray was dispatched with it, in case Lord Petersen should meet with any misfortune in carrying the other dispatches.— *Note to original.*

"NOTES OF GENERAL RIEDESEL TO THIS DOCUMENT.

"*First.* The expression in General Burgoyne's dispatch, '*of which scarcely* 2,000 *were Englishmen,*' is painful. As if 1,500 Germans made the army less respectable than it would have been if it had consisted of Englishmen only. The successful aid which the German troops rendered the English at Hubert town, and again on the 19th of September, should rather augment the attachment and love between the two nations; and the English in this army owe it to their German comrades in arms, to hold them in high esteem, especially after Brigadier Fraser expressed his heartfelt thanks to them upon the termination of the action at Hubert town, and after the public declaration of Brigadier Hamilton, that the German troops had saved him. Indeed, the praises of General Burgoyne, in the order which he issued, ought to kill the poison in this expression.

"*Secondly.* When the attack on the column of General Burgoyne had commenced, and when General Phillips came from the left wing, no one knew where General Fraser was. This makes a slight difference as regards the praise which is given to the latter, that, 'he had taken his position to the right of the English regiments with precision.'

"It is to be presumed that the enemy knew nothing of General Fraser, and that it was never the intention of the enemy to attack this corps, but rather to turn the left wing of Burgoyne. If, therefore, the reported *vigorous* attack of the English grenadiers and the 24th Regiment had been more vigorous, and had taken place at the right time, the 20th, 21st and 62d Regiments, under the brave Brigadier General Hamilton, would not have been forced to withstand a 'severe fire lasting four hours,' which ruined them, but did not make them retreat.

"*Thirdly.* It is not to be denied that the presence of General Phillips did much to withstand the attack; nor, further, is it to be gainsaid that his counsel was of much use. Nor, again, is

it to be denied that Major Williams's conduct was praiseworthy. Still, it is difficult to say whether it was advisable for the latter to leave his post, where his presence would have been of great service in case of an attack from the enemy. But as regards the four cannon which Major Williams is said to have brought with him, let me say that this must be a mistake, for these four cannon were still found at nine o'clock in the evening on the road. Perhaps the two six-pounders were meant that Captain Beusch brought up, and with which he renewed the cannonading that had almost ceased, in consequence of most of the English artillerymen being either dead or wounded.

"*Fourthly.* General Riedesel, who could have arrived an hour sooner had he received the long wished for order, brought up a part of the left wing just at the critical moment, when the enemy having made an attack on the left wing of Brigadier General Hamilton, the latter was withstanding it with great courage, but in momentary expectation of being driven back.

"The advantage gained by falling on the right flank of the enemy, and his astonishment at being attacked by fresh troops, who, with closed ranks, delivered a regular fire, caused their right wing to retreat; and a fresh attack by Hamilton at the same time, gave us a complete victory, which could have been attended with the capture of many prisoners, had not night come on.

"*Fifthly.* The attempt to keep Gates occupied up to the 12th, in order to prevent his making another move, together with the desire to learn more of the condition of the enemy, induced General Burgoyne to undertake heavy reconnoitering expeditions in spite of representations to him of the critical position in which both he and the army were placed. The constant presence of detachments of the enemy in our rear, the successful expedition whereby the bridge at Saratoga was burned, and the corps which was seen on the other side of the river near the Battenkill, were plain indications of the intention of the enemy to surround us and cut off our retreat to the Battenkill and

Fort Edward. Notwithstanding, however, all these critical events, Burgoyne, by false or pleasant news, was prevented from retreating to the Battenkill at the only time in which it was possible to do so. This, it was his duty to have done under those circumstances, especially as the season was far advanced, and the distance to New York was so great, that a junction with an army coming from the city was more chimerical than probable.[1]

"Incited by zeal, General Burgoyne refused to retreat; and the reconnoissance (not the foraging expedition which had taken place the day previous) was carried out on the 7th of October. General Burgoyne formed a detachment, three-quarters of a mile from the enemy's left wing, in a miserable position. Notwithstanding we were close to the enemy, we could see nothing of his position; nor could Captain Fraser, who had approached the enemy still closer by a circuitous route through the woods, discover anything of him either. It was, therefore, resolved to await the enemy in this position. Meanwhile, General Fraser, finding two houses filled with forage, seized this opportunity to send to the camp after a corps of properly accoutred men to capture it.

"The enemy was seen in small bodies while we were waiting for the approach of evening. We were amusing ourselves by firing at him with artillery, when suddenly we heard the fire of musketry on our left wing where Major Ackland was posted with all the English grenadiers. Shortly after this, we saw the grenadiers coming back in confusion, very likely discouraged by the loss of their brave commander, Major Ackland, who had been wounded and captured. By this retreat, the left wing of the German command, led by Lieutenant Colonel Specht, was exposed; but detachments from the light infantry regiments of

---

[1] The reader will bear in mind that these opinions of Riedesel are not given *after* the event when it is so easy to say what *might have been.* Precisely these views, it will be remembered, he had urged upon Burgoyne before the self-confidence of the latter had made their adoption too late.

Hanau and Rhetz were at once sent forward, and by the assistance of the brave Major Wolham and the English artillery, the position was maintained. Captains Fredersdorf, Gleisenberg, Dahlstern and Gailitz of Hanau, were severely wounded on this occasion, and the Hanau artillery was lost by the retreat of the English grenadiers. The brave Major Forster, with two hundred and sixty English grenadiers, withstood an equally severe fire on the right wing.

"In this critical situation of affairs, Brigadier General Fraser received orders to succor the centre. He arrived with the 24th Regiment, and was mortally wounded. My Lord Balcarras was sent to another position whereby our right wing was exposed in the same manner that the left had been during the whole time. Notwithstanding all these untoward circumstances, however, Major Forster and Lieutenant Colonel Specht kept their posts until Burgoyne sent orders for a retreat, which, in spite of being hard pressed by the enemy, they executed in good order. The cannon had to be left behind, as the horses had been shot, and most of the men either killed or wounded. Major Williams was captured. According to the order of Burgoyne, we were obliged to retreat in the direction of the great redoubt on the right wing of Fraser's camp. But scarcely had the troops reached this redoubt, when it was attacked by the enemy with great vigor and stormed. On our side, also, it was defended with great valor.

"Every one knows that after the affair at Bennington, Breymann's corps, on the 19th of September numbered scarcely five hundred men. Of this number he was obliged to give up three hundred men to the detachment which was sent out on a reconnoitering expedition. Thus barely two hundred men remained with him. With this small band he defended his line for a long while, and Lieutenant Cleve reported very favorably concerning this post, before General Riedesel had been sent from this position to the left wing.

"It must be noticed here, that the left wing of Breymann's

entrenchment was covered by two houses occupied by Canadians. These Canadians were ordered to join the reconnoitering detachment; thus the houses were empty and without defense, a fact of which Lieutenant Colonel Breymann knew nothing.

"Profiting by this, the enemy marched through this opening, and attacked the left wing of Breymann on the left flank and rear. Lieutenant Colonel Breymann was shot dead; and a handful of men was driven back with the loss of its artillery, camp and baggage. This news reached the general during the absence of Riedesel. Lieutenant Colonel Specht, urged on by harsh and cutting words, resolved, in order to save the honor of the Germans, to retake the entrenchment, but his detachment being indiscriminately mixed up with the English in the great redoubt, and night preventing him from collecting them together, he rallied four officers and about fifty men with whom, sorely chafed and offended, he started, half in despair, to attack the enemy. Unacquainted with the road, and in the darkness of the night, he met a man in the woods who pretended to belong to the company of McKay, and who promised to lead him to Breymann's corps. But this man, instead of keeping his promise, delivered him as a traitor into the hands of the enemy, by whom he and the four officers were captured. The men, however, discovering the treachery of their guide in time, made their escape.

"This is the answer to the severe expression of General Burgoyne: *Unfortunately the entrenchment of the reserve, under Lieutenant Colonel Breymann, was taken after the latter was shot. Orders were given that it should be retaken, but they were never executed.*

"*Sixthly.* During the retreat on the evening of the 8th, General Riedesel commanded the advanced guard consisting of the 47th and 62d Regiments of light infantry of the Brunswick grenadiers and the corps of Captain Fraser. The advanced guard arrived at Dovogat at three o'clock on the morning of the

9th. Here Riedesel learned that the enemy were entrenched on the heights of Saratoga at a short distance from the barracks. He thereupon ordered the column to halt, sent Captain Fraser in advance to reconnoitre, and reported to General Burgoyne, who had arrived before daybreak, that the enemy were on the other side of the Hudson. But, to the astonishment of every one, we remained the whole day at Dovogat near the Battenkill. At this time the enemy near the Battenkill, according to all reports, were not strong enough to have prevented our crossing the river; but even if we had not been able to get across, we might have continued our march on this side, crossed the ferry near Fort Edward, and occupied the favorable heights at that place. Thus, in one way or the other, the army could have been saved, although the baggage might have been lost.

"The army, however, passed the night at Fishkill, the enemy holding the whole of the opposite bank. General Burgoyne very prudently dispatched the 47th and 62d Regiments, under Lieutenant Colonel Southerland toward Fort Edward, Captain Twiss at the same time being ordered to repair the bridges. According to the report of Lieutenant Colonel Southerland, it is evident that had the army continued marching, it could have reached the heights of Fort Edward before the enemy; and in case of this being impossible, we could have crossed the river higher up, and thus have reached the heights of Fort George without material loss. Nobody knows why the retreat was not continued. Lieutenant Colonel Southerland was ordered back again to the army. The sad situation in which the army was near Saratoga, after all the chances for a retreat had been neglected, is familiar to every one.

"General Riedesel, as late as the 12th, proposed a retreat, and this proposition was approved; but it was discovered that the distribution of rations had been forgotten. The distribution was thereupon ordered at once; and it was resolved that the retreat should be commenced immediately, if this distribution be accomplished by ten o'clock. But when everything was

ready for the march, the retreat was postponed until the following day when it was impossible to carry it out.[1]

"These are the remarks which General Riedesel found necessary to make in regard to the letter of General Burgoyne to Lord Germain, and in regard, also, to the minutes of the council, upon communicating them to his excellency, the duke, and his own countrymen.

"It seems that General Burgoyne has been kind enough to save the honor of General Riedesel, yea, even to speak with distinction and praise in regard to his conduct. Yet it is painful to the latter to know that he has not spoken of the troops with the same distinction, especially in regard to the affair of the 7th of October, and this, too, notwithstanding General Riedesel declared that he could have done nothing praiseworthy without the good will and the active cooperation of the troops which he commanded.

"For this reason General Riedesel had rather be deprived of all praise than see his troops robbed of the same glory in a public and unjust manner.

"For this reason, and with this intention, he desires to publish his ideas and relate circumstances truthfully for the honor of his nation.

"RIEDESEL, Major General.

"Cambridge, May 8th, 1778."

In order to secure himself against all reproach, General Riedesel compiled a memorandum containing the course of events from the beginning of the campaign of 1777, up to the unfortunate affair near Saratoga, which was signed by all the German commanders. We find an extract from this memoranda in Madame Riedesel's book, and also in a patriotic journal, entitled *The Brunswick Magazine*, No. XI. One

[1] Riedesel, it will be remembered, himself saw to the distribution of the rations, which was all accomplished by ten o'clock, the time specified.

reads like the other; but both are, as the postscript says, only extracts. Although the correspondent of that magazine states, that he had taken it from the original papers of the Brunswick general, the original in Riedesel's own handwriting is among his papers which are no longer in Brunswick. As this memorandum contains, in general, nothing that has not been already mentioned, we will not copy it here. It is signed by Brigadier Generals Von Specht and Gall,[1] Lieutenant Colonel Leuz, Major Von Mengen, Von Ehrenkrook and Lucke, also by Captains Lohreisen and Schottelius.

From the foregoing, we see Riedesel's opinion concerning many things undertaken by Burgoyne. We find in it, however, none of that indignation which would certainly have been excusable, under the circumstances, considering the conduct of the general toward the German troops, and the misfortune which he brought upon them by his thoughtless conduct. But Riedesel's character was too noble, and he had too much tact to give vent to passionate expressions. It is the language of a man who is tranquil, and knows how to govern himself, and who is also conscious of his own rectitude. No allusion is made by him to the failing which caused General Burgoyne to commit many a rash act.

The feeling wife, however, looks at these misfortunes in a different light. Her husband, her children, her friends, the brave soldiers and herself suffered too much from the conduct of the commanding general to permit of her silence. She was a witness of scenes at which her sense of right, duty and morality revolted. She therefore speaks of the conduct of the British general with not so much consideration as her husband. Accordingly, in her interesting book of events, she speaks of events which throw a clearer light upon this and that circumstance, and enable us better to see through the otherwise inexplicable character of General Burgoyne.

Mrs. General Riedesel arrived in the evening with the army

---

[1] Von Gall adds, "All, so far as I know, is entirely true."— *Note to the original.*

at Saratoga wet and hungry. There was great confusion and excitement, and she was unable to find a place to sleep. She sat down with her children by a fire in order to dry her clothes, and then laid down on some straw. An English officer brought her a bowl of soup.

It appeared singular to her that the English general should intend remaining there, and upon her expressing her fears concerning the delay to General Phillips, he answered: "Poor woman! I wonder at you, although completely drenched, you yet have courage to think of going farther in this weather. I would that you were our commanding general. He considers himself too fatigued to go farther, and intends staying here all night and give us a supper." Burgoyne actually caroused here half the night. He was hilarious with champagne, caressing the wife of a commissary who was his mistress.[1] This was probably the cause of his remaining so long at this place, thus losing the precious time necessary for his retreat. While Burgoyne was enjoying his champagne and choice food, the army suffered the keenest want.

The days which Madame Riedesel spent here, were, for her, the most terrible ones of the whole war. We will not enter any more into details, but refer the reader to her book in which she describes everything with her natural simplicity and humility. The wife of the wounded Major Harnach, Madame Reynolds, who had lost her husband, the wife of the lieutenant, who had given some of his soup to Mrs. Riedesel, and the wife of a commissary, Burgoyne's mistress, were the only ladies who were now with the army.

All the captured generals were obliged to repair to the enemy's camp after the capitulation. As soon as Riedesel arrived in the American camp, he sent for his wife. While riding with fear and anxiety through the camp, she took new courage from the

[1] This fact which Mrs. Riedesel mentions in her *Journal* is confirmed by the journals of several of the German officers who served in this campaign.— *Vide* the *Auxiliaries in America* by Eelking.

fact that the soldiers looked at her in a friendly manner and saluted her. Upon her arrival at the tents of the superior officers, a tall, good looking man approached her and took the children from the carriage, hugging and kissing them. She was then led by him into the tent of General Gates, by whom she was received in a friendly manner. To her great astonishment, she met here Generals Burgoyne [1] and Phillips. The former was of good cheer, and seemed to be very familiar with General Gates. The American officer who had first met Mrs. Riedesel in the enemy's camp, was General Schuyler.

We will not here speculate whether a brave army was led to ruin by the incapacity or the wantonness of its leader, or in consequence of a badly arranged plan. In consequence of the affair near Saratoga, the mother country lost her best colonies, for from this time the power and the confidence of the Americans grew daily; the independence of the provinces being already as good as decided.

As has been already seen, English generals and historians either were not impartial enough, or not sufficiently informed

[1] General Burgoyne was the natural son of Lord Lingley, and possessed, with a prepossessing exterior, the fine and sagacious manners of a courtier. He was witty and brave, and was, therefore, never in want of friends. In the year 1762, he led an English corps in Portugal with some success, in consequence of which his friends thought not a little of his military abilities. But personal courage does not constitute a commander; for of a commander we expect other qualities, especially experience and presence of mind. General Burgoyne lacked both. In all his undertakings he was hasty and self-willed, desiring to do everything alone, he hardly ever consulted with others; and yet he never knew how to keep a plan secret. Being a great sybarite, he often neglected the duties of a commander as well toward his king as toward his subordinates. He could easily make light of everything provided he was eating a good meal, or was with his mistress. Thus, immediately after the capitulation, he could eat and drink with the enemy's generals, and could talk with the greatest ease of the most important events. But what a responsibility had he not taken upon himself? What could he expect in the future? What a difference did not General Riedesel find when comparing him with Duke Ferdinand, the thorough commander, the moral and kind philanthropist! General Burgoyne, soon after the surrender, returned to England. He was received very coolly at first by the court and the people, and was forced to give up his salary. But he had the good fortune never to have his crimes investigated by a court martial. Afterwards he became the favorite of the queen and wrote plays. He died in 1792.—*Note to the original.*

to acknowledge the merits of the Germans. The brave General Riedesel felt this keenly. With a noble self-denial he sets aside his own glory to preserve that of his troops, but as he has never published anything regarding it, and never intrusted any one with his documents a great deal is lost in obscurity and doubt. The historical works relating to this war were mostly written by English, French or Americans, and were only afterwards translated into German, and we have consequently related many things in the same manner as they were told us. Many of these things consist of documents and additions; and we, therefore, ask the reader to pardon what is often necessary repetitions.

If General Riedesel complains of the partiality of the English general, he does not do it without good reasons. Look, for instance, at the letter of Burgoyne to Lord Germain. In it we find more of a justification than a report. He pays all regard to the English, but none to the German troops. Conspicuous in this report are the following points:

First. General Burgoyne does not admit that on the 19th of September, the German troops saved the English near Freeman's farm, the latter being already beaten.

Secondly. The German troops on the 7th of October, bear all the blame for the Americans having been allowed to penetrate into the English camp. He has no excuse for them, and yet by his own doings, the left flank of Breymann's corps was exposed to the enemy without the knowledge of the Germans.

Thirdly. He makes no mention of the fact that the bateaux were captured through the negligence of an English detachment, and that four English companies, by a like mistake, were taken prisoners at Ticonderoga a short time afterward.

Fourthly. He does not admit that on the 7th of October, during the great reconnoitering expedition, the German troops held the dangerous position near the enemy's camp, after the defeat of the English Grenadiers on the left wing.

The public in England, as well as the loyalists in America, were very much prejudiced against the German troops by these

false reports, as is plainly expressed by General Riedesel in his remarks.

On the 20th of October, the captured General Riedesel bid adieu to the family of General Schuyler by whom he had been so hospitably entertained; and, with his family, continued his journey from Albany, riding in the same coach with his wife and children. His health had already suffered considerably, not only by continual bivouacking and other exposures, but by mental emotions caused by the misfortune to his brave troops. He was now constantly depressed in spirits, and suffered from headache and general physical debility. He overtook his troops at Kinder's hook, where they encamped in the woods. They were now fifty-two English miles from Stillwater.

On the 23d, the men had a day of rest. Kinder's hook was a small, pleasant village, formerly settled by the Dutch, most of whom were loyal.

On the 24th, bivouacked near Nobletown.

On the 25th, they arrived at Great Barrington, where, for the first time during the march, they obtained shelter in barns. Hitherto the roads leading through valleys had been good, but now the road led over mountains in the green woods, which are connected with the Green mountains. They grew constantly worse; and the commander of the escort, not being a good soldier, directed the march toward the best taverns. All the expostulations of General Riedesel were in vain, the commander, only intent upon having everything as comfortable as possible for his men. After reaching the mountains, a terrible rain storm made the roads worse yet. The teams, also, for the transportation of the provisions and the sick, were to have been changed at Great Barrington; but as they had not been ordered previously it was impossible to collect them. An unnecessary halt, therefore, had to be made. Finally, a sufficient number of teams were gathered to carry the provisions, but the sick were

obliged to remain there in charge of commissioned and noncommissioned officers. A commissary, by the name of Thillemann, a German by birth, remained behind to send them forward afterwards. This person took a great deal of pains to induce German soldiers to desert and enlist in the American army.

On this day, the troops marched fifteen miles and were forced to encamp near Spring's house in terrible weather. Several of the men had already remained behind, in consequence of fatigue and want of shoes. On the day following the number of the laggarts increased, the march being fourteen miles. The troops encamped again in the woods near Grey's house. On the 28th, they were to have arrived at West Springfield, but the weather being bad and cold — it snowing and hailing considerably — they only reached Westfield. The march was so disorderly that prisoners and men belonging to the escort remained behind, and, in consequence, lost their way. General Riedesel finally succeeded, by making friends with the inhabitants, in finding quarters for his men. Two German soldiers were frozen to death on this day in the woods.

On the 29th, the prisoners arrived at West Springfield. By entreaties and various representations, General Riedesel succeeded in obtaining quarters for his weary and half frozen soldiers. On this day, they advanced only four miles. A day of rest was here given to the soldiers.

On the 31st, the general went across the Connecticut river to East Springfield to make arrangements with the authorities at that place for a supply of provisions. In the meantime the troops remained at West Springfield, a rest that was very acceptable to them, as it give them a chance to repair their torn clothing, shoes, etc.

General Riedesel, however, did not find the people of East Springfield as obliging as those at West Springfield. Notwithstanding all his entreaties, he failed to induce them to quarter his troops. They were, accordingly, obliged to continue their march as far as Palmer, a distance of thirteen miles.

On the 2d of November, they were obliged again to encamp near Brookfield, after a march of sixteen miles. Here the English regiments were again met with; and it was resolved that hereafter they should keep a day's march in advance of the Germans.

After a great deal of discussion with a stubborn colonel, Riedesel finally succeeded, after a march of eleven miles, in procuring quarters for his men at Leicester.

On the next day, the 4th, the troops arrived at Worcester, after a march of eleven miles, and obtained decent quarters. Generals Burgoyne and Phillips, with Brigadier Glover, also arrived there at the same time. General Riedesel, who, in several letters, had already complained to the latter general of the conduct of Colonel Reid, took this opportunity to have an interview with him, the good result of which was that henceforth, the prisoners were properly quartered.

On the 5th, after a march of seventeen miles, the prisoners arrived at Marlborough.

On the 6th, they arrived at West-town; and finally, on the 7th, after a march of sixteen miles, they reached the barracks at Cambridge near Boston.

The barracks for the English troops were on Prospect hill; those of the Germans on Winter hill.[1] They were in the most miserable condition. So far as regarded their provisions, the soldiers, it is true, were more contented, they being good and wholesome. Several of the officers were permitted to reside at Cambridge and Mystic, but no one was allowed to go to Boston. The American General Heath at first consented to the officers and soldiers going a mile beyond their barracks. This privilege was afterward extended to three miles.

During the journey, General Riedesel noted down several observations regarding the American army, especially its offi-

---

[1] The number of the English amounted to 2,300; that of the Germans to about 1,900 men.— *Note to original.*

cers. That army had been gathered in the greatest haste; and such thorough training and organization as is found in Europe, as a matter of course, could not be expected. Every citizen, who, out of patriotism or by the necessity of circumstances took up arms, joined the army without reference to position or wealth. Most of them were excellent marksmen; and, knowing well the locality upon which they fought, knew how to make use of it in every way. Being hunters and farmers they were accustomed to exposure and endurance, and minded not fatigue and hardship. He who had the best capacity and the most influence was appointed leader. Thus generals were very often found among the Americans, who, when not otherwise engaged, despised no hard work, provided only they could make money. Thus, some of these generals carried on the noble profession of shoemaking, a profession which, during the march, was very lucrative. In illustration of this, Mrs. Riedesel, in her journal, relates the following anecdote. An English officer, whose boots were entirely worn out, walked for some time alongside of one of the above mentioned generals who wore a pair of new ones. Says the Englishman, more in fun than earnest, "General, I would gladly give you a guinea for your boots. Immediately, the American general dismounted, took off his boots, and handed them to the Englishman, at the same time taking the money and the torn boots of the Englishman in exchange. He then mounted his horse and again rode on.

General Riedesel, with his family, found shelter for the present, in a farmhouse,[1] where he was forced to content himself with a room and a garret. Nothing but some straw could be found for a couch. Upon this some beds were thrown, the servants, meanwhile, sleeping in the hall. The landlord was

[1] This house is still (1867) in existence in Cambridge, and is yet known as the Riedesel house. On one of the window panes, scratched with a diamond, is the general's autograph. It is generally thought to be the handwriting of Mrs. Riedesel. A comparison, however, between her signature and her husband's shows conclusively that it is his own.

very kind, but his other half was a veritable dragon, doing everything to offend and annoy her obnoxious guests. But as it was impossible to find another place, they were obliged to put up with everything rather than be driven from the house.

Their stay here lasted for three weeks; after which Riedesel came to Cambridge where he obtained nice quarters. A colony of aristocratic and rich people had settled in this part of the country; but being mostly royalists they were forced, by the course of political events, to leave their handsome houses, several of which were at this time vacant. The inhabitants were also divided into two opposing parties, viz: royalists and republicans. A middle party was unknown. The former, however, being in the minority, were often exposed to gross insults, as is often the case in such exciting times. As a natural sequence, brothers opposed brothers; sons left their parents; man and wife separated.

The life in these barracks, moreover, was miserable. They were poorly built; the cold winds of November whistled through the cracks, and the rain and snow made inroads in many places. The poor soldiers suffered severely, being unable to protect their weary and half frozen limbs against the inclement weather. They had left behind them all the baggage which they could possibly spare when first starting on this unhappy retreat; and the little which they had retained by them had either been gradually used up, or taken from them by the Americans by force and cunning. The misery of their situation also was increased by the fact that the governor of Boston, General Heath, conducted himself in a manner anything but friendly toward the prisoners. He treated them with severity and harshness, thus making the fate of these miserable prisoners still more deplorable. As a natural consequence difficulties arose between this general and the commanders of the captured troops, a state of things that continued as long as the latter remained at Boston.

According to the solemn promises given by General Gates, it was expected that the stay at Boston would be but of short

duration. The poor soldiers, however, were very much deceived. Their real misery had only just begun. The beginning of their troubles is seen in the following letter from Riedesel to Burgoyne:

"A Most Humble Representation.

"Humanity as well as duty requires that we should attend to those soldiers who are entrusted to our care. In the sad situation in which we, as well as other officers are placed, we find ourselves obliged to call upon your excellency to take care of us, and better our situation by your representations. It is expressly stated in the treaty, which your excellency has negotiated with General Gates, that the officers should have decent lodging places in proportion to their rank. Instead, however, of this article being carried out, we have been sent to the most miserable barracks, erected of common boards, in which four, five and six officers are promiscuously lodged without respect to rank.

"Indeed, the greater number of the soldiers is so miserably lodged that they are unable to shelter themselves from cold and rain in this severe season of the year; and in spite of the handsome promises and the fact that they are here fourteen days, and notwithstanding, also, my offer, that the men would make the repairs themselves if the necessary materials were furnished, nothing has been provided for them yet. The soldiers, of whom twenty to twenty-four occupy the same barrack, are without light at night. Three of them sleep in the same bed. They receive, also, so little fuel that they can scarcely cook our rations, to say nothing of warming the cold rooms. In fact, they have not even considered it worth while to establish a rule by which the officers and privates, according to their rank, may receive fuel.

"All these proper complaints cause general dissatisfaction among the troops; and it is to be feared that the result will be desertion and disobedience for which we cannot be responsible.

"Although we officers, belonging to the staff, think less of our own comfort than of that of the soldiers whom we command, yet we cannot deny that we are astonished at observing the care that has been taken of the lodgings of the English general officers, while we have not even been thought of. We know the justice and honor of your excellency too well to allow us to doubt for a moment that these just representations will be considered by you, and that you will see to it that the troops receive that which belongs to them by right of treaty. We believe that it is no more than justice to furnish the troops with the same rations, etc., as they have received during the winter of 1775, while in garrison in Boston.

"We lay our fate in your hands and under your protection, and remain, with deep respect

"Your excellency's, etc."

Subsequently, General Burgoyne sent a dispatch to Sir William Howe, who was at Philadelphia at the time, in which he reported the miserable condition in which the troops were, requesting him at the same time to do all he could for them. Captain Valency carried the dispatch to General Howe.

Congress, even as early as this, did not intend to keep the treaty which General Gates had made in his own name with the English general. The famous Marquis De Lafayette had arrived a short time previous to this in America, offering his assistance to the patriots, and joining their army as major general. France, intending at this time to declare war against England, was obliged to make common cause with the Americans; and Lafayette, in the interest of his nation, advised congress not to send the prisoners to Europe, since they could be again used against France. General Heath, also, allowed the Bostonians to induce the soldiers to desert, even going so far as to aid them by making the situation of the prisoners as unpleasant as possible.

We will here quote *verbatim* that which Riedesel says in his

journal in regard to this. It reads as follows: "One would have believed that the people of America were better acquainted with the principles of the laws of nations, of military honor and public trust and faith; but alas! we learned differently! These pages will show the subterfuges which they used in making this treaty null and void; also, how they induced by hard, unjust, yea, we might say, treacherous methods, our men to join them. Again, how they would persuade them by false promises to embrace their side and thus cause our army to melt away gradually, by making part of it slaves to a detestable nation. And here, in fact, really lies the reason of all the troubles and difficulties which afterward arose between our commander and General Heath, to whose safe keeping our army had been committed."

The camp of the prisoners was encircled by a chain of outposts. The officers, who were permitted to go somewhat beyond the camp, were obliged to promise in writing on their word of honor, to go no farther beyond it than a mile and a half. Within this space are the villages, Cambridge, Mystic or Medford, and a part of Charlestown. In these places the generals and brigadiers could select lodgings, for which, of course, they had to pay dearly. After a while this permission was extended to other staff and subaltern officers. Only a few of the Brunswickers availed themselves of this permission, preferring to remain in their miserable barracks, and thus share all inconveniences with their men.

The camp was located on a height, which, to a distance of eight miles, was surrounded with woods, thus presenting a splendid view of Boston, the harbor and the vast ocean. The barracks had been built in 1775, at the time that the Americans first took up arms, and upon these very heights took their first position against General Gage. These heights were fortified.

When the fatigued and worn out troops arrived here on the 7th of November, they found not the least thing for their support. A little straw and some wood was everything that was

furnished to the soldier. The officers and privates were obliged to repair the barracks as well as they could, although they had neither tools nor materials with which to do it. Necessity, however, which is the mother of invention, accomplished incredible things.

The conduct of the German officers toward their soldiers, was, indeed, most exemplary. Both on the march and in the camp they sought to alleviate as much as possible the miseries of the troops, forgetting their own troubles. Thus many, who had still a little money left, bought boots and shoes for those of their men who were barefoot. A pair of second hand boots cost about four silver thalers.[1] During their journey, the Americans, in some instances, stole the knapsacks from these miserable beings who had carried them with great trouble thus far. They also stole about thirty horses. At Albany, all the baggage belonging to General Riedesel was stolen, and this too, although an American guard had been given him for its protection. Consequently he and his family had nothing left but what they had carried on their backs. The English were treated in the same manner. During the march, prisoners — most of whom had been captured near Bennington — were met in almost every place. Some asked to be taken with the rest to Boston, while others, satisfied with their fate, wished to remain. Those German officers who had been captured previously, were at Westminster and Rutland. It was a short and painful meeting between old comrades. The prisoners were furnished with board and lodging for a remuneration by the people of Massachusetts bay, but were obliged to assist at work. Some fared well, others ill, just as the fancy struck their host.

On the 8th, General Heath came into the camp of the prisoners. He called upon all the generals, and, taking them to the city, gave them a dinner. Orders were also issued this day regarding the future treatment of the prisoners. Special regu-

[1] A thaler is equal to seventy cents in American money.

lations were made for the officers which they had to sign on parole. They were obliged to promise to give neither direct nor indirect intelligence to the enemies of the United States, nor to say anything that could be in the least detrimental to the actions and provisions of congress. Finally, they were to obey the rules and regulations which had already been given them, and also those that should be given in future to the royal troops. This last point caused great indignation among all the officers, many refusing their signatures. Eight days passed before these latter could make up their minds to append their names; but all representations being in vain, and it being perceived that if they stood out they would have to share with the common soldiers their restricted space and be exposed to other extortions, they finally signed the obnoxious paper.

The same day the following order appeared: "Major General Heath, commander of the eastern department, desirous of treating General Burgoyne and all officers of the army with politeness and generosity, and the soldiers with philanthropy and care, and for the preservation of order and harmony among the different troops, issues the following orders:

"*First.* If an officer goes beyond the limits, he shall, for a punishment, be restricted to the narrower limits of the private soldier, or, according to circumstances, be placed on board a guard ship.

"*Secondly.* All officers below the rank of staff officer shall be at their quarters by nine o'clock in the evening.

"*Thirdly.* Commissaries shall be appointed from whom the troops shall buy all their provisions at their original cost. Nor shall any of the troops buy anything from any person except these commissaries.

"*Fourthly.* The officers shall carefully avoid all difficulties with the inhabitants, and in case they are insulted, shall carry their complaints to the proper place.

"*Fifthly.* The servants of the officers, for whom their masters have signed the parole, are not allowed to go further from the

quarters of their masters than to the sutlers, unless accompanied by their masters.

"HEATH, Major General.

"Boston, November 8, 1777."

The German troops owed all the practical orders regarding the transportation of provisions to their general who, after many discussions finally carried his point with General Heath. They thereby obtained the necessaries of life easier and cheaper. This was also of advantage to the commanders as they were thus better able to keep their men together and prevent excesses and desertion. A great many of the English troops, who were not included in this order, had trouble daily, and numbers were arrested and transported to the guard ships.

The prisoners' camp had many visitors daily, who came not only from Boston and vicinity, but from far and near. Sometimes the curiously inquisitive would come a distance of one hundred miles to see the foreigners. Thus it occasionally happened that the Americans secretly took the opportunity to bring into camp renegade prisoners in civilian's clothing, that the latter might picture the pleasant life they enjoyed and induce desertion. The Americans did this from economical motives; for there being a great want of working men, they used the prisoners like slaves.

On the 11th, General Riedesel issued a general order in regard to the interior of the camp. The companies were made to form in line twice a day for muster; and all communication between the prisoners and the Americans who guarded them was forbidden. The officers and subalterns were to enforce discipline and order, and especially prevent difficulties and quarrels. This regulation in the German camp was also beneficial in another respect, viz: that the Americans soon recognizing it, always sent those soldiers who were arrested to their respective regiments for punishment, while they themselves punished the English soldiers by sending them to the guard house. For the purpose

moreover, of bettering the miserable condition of the clothing, Riedesel ordered the tails to be cut off the coats that the waists might be mended with them. Thus coats became jackets.

General Heath allowed passes to be issued to the servants of officers permitting them to go alone as far as the boundaries prescribed for their masters. The adjutant general of Heath, by the name of Keith, soon made this a paying business, asking a paper thaler for every pass. In order to increase his profits, he soon extended the permission to subalterns and privates, who were thus also allowed to go beyond the American outposts into the neighboring villages.

Every day a staff officer was sent upon each of the hills, charged with the special superintendence of it. All difficulties were brought to him for settlement. On Thursdays and Sundays the regiments gathered for a sort of parade, when they were inspected by the generals. This was done with the usual precision, the generals walking between the open lines and inspecting the mended clothing with the same particularity as they would, had it been the handsomest uniform. Thus order and cleanliness was maintained among the soldiers.

Not even the sick came under shelter, but were sent to the special barracks where they died more of cold than disease.

The American colonel, Lee, a very sociable man, was made commander of Cambridge. It was his duty to inspect two of the hills. Over him was a so called town major, by name Browne, who, as late as 1775, had served as a subaltern officer in the 47th English regiment, but who afterward deserted. This man was easily bribed; and hating the English more than the Germans, he was much more obliging to the latter.

On the 20th of November, Boston was in a joyous commotion. From the towers pealed forth the bells; and from the batteries thundered the guns, which in turn were answered by those in the harbor. Houses and ships were decked with flags and banners. All these demonstrations were in consequence of the arrival of the president of the province, by the name of HAN-

COCK, who had honored the city with a visit. Notwithstanding the so called patriots did not wish to have anything to do with the king, yet in presence of the prisoners, they called the president KING HANCOCK in order to tantalize them. Impartial men, who knew the president, said that his riches and his partiality rather than his talents had helped him in reaching this high position. The delegates of the townships met in Boston in their gala dresses on this occasion. Of these original people, as well as of the inhabitants of New England, the general gives the following description:

"One can see in these men, here assembled, exactly the national character of the inhabitants of New England. They are distinguished from the rest by their manner of dress. Thus they all, under a thick, round, yellow wig, bare the honorable physiognomy of a magistrate. Their dress is after the old English fashion. Over this they wear, winter and summer, a blue blouse, with sleeves, which is fastened round the body by a strap. One hardly ever sees any of them without a whip. They are generally thickset, and middling tall; and it is difficult to distinguish one from another. Not one-tenth of them can read writing, and still fewer can write. This art belongs, aside from the literary men, exclusively to the female sex. The women are well educated; and, therefore, know better than any other matrons in the world how to govern the men. The New Englanders all want to be politicians, and love, therefore, the taverns and the grog bowl; behind the latter of which they transact business, drinking from morning till night. They are extremely inquisitive, credulous and zealous to madness for liberty; but they are, at the same time, so blind that they cannot see the heavy yoke imposed upon them by their congress, under which they are already sinking."

General Burgoyne seems to have cared more for the welfare of his troops after the misfortune near Saratoga had overtaken him than before. He ordered from Rhode island winter clothing for the soldiers, which cost a great deal of money.

The supply sent over scarcely sufficed to clothe one-eighth of the army; nevertheless, he had this divided equally among the two nationalities, and ordered more from New York.

On the 13th of December, Captain Valency, who had been sent by Burgoyne the beginning of November to General Howe, returned with an answer from the latter to the effect that he had given orders to have the necessary transports got in readiness as quickly as possible to take the troops back to Europe. This news circulated quickly, not only in the camp but in the province of Massachusetts bay where the rest of the prisoners were quartered. Many of the latter left their quarters, and came into camp to go with their companions to Europe. As soon, however, as General Heath received intelligence of this fact, he issued orders for all such prisoners to return at once to their quarters. As a matter of course, this order had to be obeyed.

Desertion among the English had now increased to such an extent, that toward the end of December about four hundred men were missing. Among the Germans, however, there were only ten desertions.

Toward the latter part of this month, the transports, sent by General Howe under the command of Commodore Dalrymple, arrived at Cape Cod. Congress had already broken the treaty, under the flimsy pretense that the troops could not depart until the king of England had signed the treaty. Accordingly when Commodore Dalrymple reported to General Heath his arrival and the reason for it, he received the answer that the resolution of congress was final. General Burgoyne, also, received the same answer to his demand respecting the embarkation of the troops; and the English flotilla was obliged to return to Rhode island without having accomplished anything. General Burgoyne, thereupon, sent one of his adjutants, Captain Welford, with a letter to congress, in which he insisted upon the fulfillment of the treaty, at the same time pointing out the bad consequences which might arise if congress should act contrary to its stipulations. Captain Welford was, also, to support the

demand of the English general by verbal representations. Another letter was given him by Burgoyne in which congress was petitioned, in case of its not permitting the departure of the troops, to allow the bearer, Captain Welford, to return to England on account of sickness and family affairs. He promised that if congress should at any future time recall him he would at once return to America. Burgoyne, also, gave him a second urgent letter to General Washington supporting his request.

In the meantime the prisoners received other intelligence through the newspapers and the inhabitants, which caused the prospects of their speedy release to grow even fainter; for it was said that the troops would not be allowed to depart until the king of England, in due form, acknowledged the independence of the United States.

On the 31st, Major Von Mengen received the command of the grenadier battalion, Captain Von Polnitz succeeding him in the command of his old regiment.

Paymaster General Godecke being still in Canada with the military chest, a great want of money was experienced. Desirous of mitigating this evil, Riedesel thought of the common man's interest first. He, therefore, issued a circular, on the 31st of December, to all the German commanders, requesting them to see to it that the subalterns and privates received their pay first. They were further requested to borrow the necessary funds in some way, either from officers or from soldiers who had any to spare. Certificates, signed by Burgoyne and the English paymaster, were given to those persons who advanced money. Riedesel, himself advanced all the money he could spare. In this way enough was collected to enable the poor man to meet his expenses.

Let us now cast a slight retrospect over the events that had thus far occurred during this war. Immediately after the beginning of the campaign, General Washington, breaking through

the English lines at Trenton, beat General Cornwallis on the 3d of January, near Princeton. A short time after this General Prescott was beaten by the American Lieutenant Colonel Barlow. The English were consequently forced to evacuate New Jersey. Howe did not succeed in his intended assault upon Philadelphia by water. He met Washington on land by the Brandywine river, and defeated him on the 13th of September. Afterward he occupied Philadelphia. General Howe, however, not knowing how to take advantage of his victories, soon relapsed into his usual inactivity. The Americans acted better, and, accordingly, endeavored to augment their forces as much as possible. In addition to this, Marquis Lafayette (as already mentioned), Duplessis, Kosciusko, Pulaski and other thorough officers, came from Europe and offered their services to the Americans, which were gladly accepted. Thus the year 1777 passed, a year, which, for the army of Canada, began splendidly, but ended shamefully.

For the purpose of giving a better idea of the strength of both armies that were in the northern section of the country, we here append the following lists. This appears the more necessary, for the reason that those historical works, generally, which treat on the North American war, either give the numbers differently and incorrectly, or do not give them at all.

The American army near Saratoga under General Gates, consisted, on the 17th of October, of 3 major generals, 12 brigadier generals, 44 colonels, 49 majors, 344 captains, 332 first lieutenants, 326 second lieutenants, 345 ensigns, 5 chaplains, 42 adjutants, 44 quarter masters, 30 paymasters, 37 doctors, 43 assistant doctors, 1,392 sergeants, 636 drummers, 13,216 subaltern officers and privates, 662 sick in their rooms, and 131 sick at the hospital, 3,875 belonging to the rear guard, and 180 on furlough: total, 22,350 men. In actual service, 20,817.

The royal British army, under General Burgoyne, consisted, on the 17th of October, inclusive of the Brunswick and Hessian troops, of 1 major general, 2 brigadier generals, 5 lieutenant

colonels, 10 majors, 63 captains, 80 first lieutenants, 60 second lieutenants, 11 under lieutenants and ensigns, 8 adjutants, 7 quarter masters, 8 armorers, 4 auditors, 13 doctors, 4 scribes, 59 drummer majors, hautboys and players, 6 provosts, 359 non-commissioned officers, 26 assistant physicians, 210 drummers, 4,538 soldiers, 327 servants: total, 5,801 men. Note: Generals Burgoyne, Phillips and Hamilton are not included in this list.[1] The grenadiers and light infantry formed eight companies of the 29th, 31st, 34th and 53d Regiments which were in Canada. The number of the other companies of grenadiers and light infantry, which were with the army, were distributed among their respective regiments.[2]

Losses of the Brunswick troops from the beginning of the campaign of 1777, until December the 1st of the same year, not including those captured at Saratoga:

	Men.
Of the General Staff,	2
" Regiment of Dragoons,	225
" Brigadier Battalion,	218
" Regiment of Prince Frederick,	2
" Regiment Von Rhetz,	48
" " " Riedesel,	59
" " " Specht,	52
" Battalion Barner,	273
Total,	879
Of these were shot and died of their wounds,	144
" wounded but not captured,	110
" " and captured,	129
" captured, but released on parole,[3]	496
Total,	879

[1] The first major general mentioned in the list must therefore refer to Riedesel.

[2] As has been already mentioned, a grenadier and a light infantry battalion was formed of these regiments before leaving Canada. This remained in Canada under the command of General Carleton. The troops that were dispatched to Ticonderoga and other places are included here.—*Note to original.*

[3] At least so I take the original to mean; though the expression literally rendered is "captured on discretion."

List of the Captured German Officers compiled at Cambridge January 11th, 1778.

Regiment.	Name and Grade.	Present Location.
General Staff,..	Captain O'Connell, adjutant of General Riedesel,*	Wouburn.[1]
	Major Von Maiborn,*	Westminster.
	Frieke, captain of cavalry,*	"
	Von Schlagenteuffel, captain of cavalry,*	"
Regiment of Dragoons,...	Lieutenant Von Reckrodt,*	"
	" " Bothmer,*	"
	" " Breva,*	"
	Cornet Graef,*	"
	" Stutzer,*	Springfield.
	" Schonewald,*	Westminster.
	Auditor Thomas,*	"
	Chaplain Melzheimer,*	Springfield.
	Doctor Borbrodt,*	Westminster.
Brigadier Battalion,.....	Captain Von Bartling,*	"
	Lieutenant Meyer,*	"
	" Burghoff,*	"
	" Gebhardt,*	Springfield.
Regiment Von Riedesel, ...	Lieutenant Colonel Specht,†	Herforth.[2]
	Ensign Häberlein,†	"
	" Denicke,†	"
	" Andree,*	Westminster.
Battalion Von Barner,.....	Captain Von Geisan,†	Rutland.
	" Dommers,*	Westminster.
	" Gleisenberg,‡	Albany.
	Ensign Specht,*	Westminster.
	" Gr. Ranzan,†	Rutland.
Reg't Hesse Hanau	Lieutenant Bach,*	Westminster.

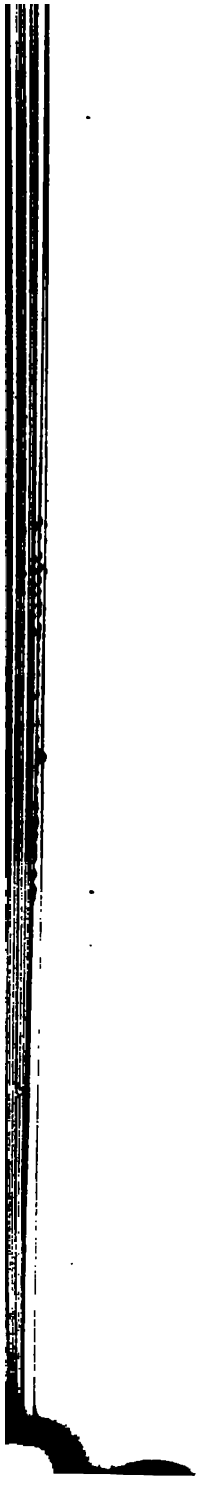
* Captured near Bennington, Aug. 16.

† Captured near Freeman's Farm, Oct. 7.

‡ Captured near Freeman's Farm, Oct. 8.

[1] Probably Woburn.

[2] Hartford.



OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO

GENERAL RIEDESEL'S CAMPAIGN IN AMERICA.

CORRESPONDENCE OF GENERAL RIEDESEL WITH THE HEREDITARY PRINCE, AND AFTERWARDS REIGNING DUKE, CHARLES WILLIAM FERDINAND, OF BRUNSWICK, LÜNEBERG.

LA PRAIRIE, *July* 31, 1776.

To His Serene Highness, the Hereditary Prince:

I hope that your serene highness has received favorably my last frank letter; but to no other do I give my confidence. Your highness knows best under what circumstances this corps was intrusted to me, and, therefore, I can communicate my thoughts to yourself alone.

Thank God, I have so far succeeded with the drill of the two battalions, which are with me, that I can show them to General Carleton on his return from Quebec; and I hope that he will do them justice in spite of his national love for the English troops of whose praises he is full. All the English officers who have seen us, praise us highly.

Everything goes well as long as the ranks are closed for a charge; but when we open the ranks and the middle line is visible, then I am ashamed. We must, however, make as much of it as we can; and if you were here, you would admit that as much as was possible has been accomplished with the men.

Our army, at present, is completely inactive. This was very welcome to me four weeks ago, in order to give time to set the regiments to rights; but now I wish that we would soon start. We are mostly in need of armed sloops and bateaux. There is much *talk*, but whether the *work* is pushed through with the same zeal is quite another question.

The foot notes to these documents, unless otherwise noted, are as given in the original.— *Translator.*

Everything depends upon the expedition of General Howe. If he lands safely, captures New York, and gains a footing, we can cross the lake with a few brigades, one after the other. We have a sufficient number of bateaux for this purpose; but if Howe meets with resistance, and if his operations are prolonged, then the whole plan will require a second campaign for its complete execution. In the former case we will certainly have peace this coming winter; but in the latter event, another campaign, which cannot possibly be unsuccessful, as the rebels are unable to oppose both armies, and their soldiers are not what they were thought to be in Germany. They are a miserable race of men, with poor officers. They have no money, only paper; and there is such an excitement and tremble in the provinces themselves, that it is impossible for the confederation to last long.

Nothing can be learned here in regard to position; for I believe that there is no place in the whole of America, where six battalions could be placed in good position. Aside from the few cultivated regions on the rivers, all the hills are covered with woods. All we can do, therefore, is to post ourselves near rivers, take forts, and build new ones, and go with the Indians as much as possible through the primeval forests in order to destroy communications. It may, however, be practicable, when everything is in readiness, to attack the enemy wherever he is to be found, without regard to his position. We can also study out great manœuvres. And even after the enemy is beaten, it will be impossible to pursue him, while the ships will have to be transported across the land to another river, or new ones built. In either case, however, it will cost money; and if a mistake is made in regard to the amount of provisions, we will have to return for them even if the enemy does not compel us to do so.

But little attention is paid to the men, it being thought that they are taken care of if they have plenty of bread and meat. Beer, brandy, vegetables, and straw for bedding are all unknown. Thus the soldier gets tired of his constant diet of meat; and during a march from one river to another, the officer has to live the same as a private. Such marches, however, cannot last long, as they are only over what is called portages, from five to six, or at most, ten leagues.

Hoping that your highness will receive this favorably,

I remain, etc.,

RIEDESEL.

THE HEREDITARY PRINCE TO GENERAL RIEDESEL.

BRUNSWICK, *September* 14, 1776.[1]

Right Honorable Sir and Highly Respected Major General:

I had the pleasure of receiving two of your letters, the last of which is dated July the 5th. In this, I observe, with special satisfaction, the well being of yourself and corps, after so tedious a journey. Your honor knows as well as any one, that not only the haste but the stubbornness which Mr. Faucit has manifested, and still manifests, are the cause of so much being needed for the comfort of the corps. But I feel confident that your attention, zeal and activity in the service, will go far toward placing matters on a tolerable footing. Discipline among the officers is certainly the safest means to bring this about. The uniforms for the first division have already been sent, and those for the second will be shipped before the end of this month, so that there will be no lack for these most necessary articles. As regards the recruits, we will see to it, as soon as enlistments begin again, that you have sent to you strong and robust fellows — if possible, not below five feet two inches. It will be, as you know, impossible to warrant their zeal in the service, but strict discipline, which I know you make a point to have, will be the best means of making them attend to their duty. The sacrifice, which this country has been obliged to make in consequence of the bad condition in which it has been, has been so great, that unless we exterminate whole generations we cannot extend enlistments over our own subjects. The misery of the wives and children left behind by the soldiers is so lamentable that they would starve did they not receive food from the barracks here, and this, notwithstanding the allowance mothers receive from the government. The landgrave of Hessia and the hereditary prince of Hanau have certainly considered from every point of view the best manner in which to treat their subjects which are committed to their care; and it is certainly for the interest of the funds to furnish recruits for whom money is received, and none expended. They also believe that they have thoroughly considered the duties of a sovereign toward his subjects: and I believe that a free-born man cannot be forced, unless it be for the defense of the fatherland by taking arms against the inhabitants of Canada.

I am not surprised that the colonists have evacuated Mont-Real, Chambly and St. John, for first, they were weak in that region if

[1] On the back of this letter is the indorsement, "answered June 1, 1777."

they rallied strongly in Virginia and Carolina, and secondly, the country was not with them.

The descendants of the French and the Christianized Indians, who are Roman Catholics, are used to submission and blind obedience; and their intelligence is satisfied, if he who governs them lets them alone. But it is different with the colonies, which are English; and if the leaders understand their business but half, the thing will not be so easily settled.[1] Even if Carleton captures Crown point, which I hardly doubt, the colonists have only to prolong the matter as long as possible, in order to cause a great scarcity of provisions and men in the English army.

The second division, in my opinion, will arrive at Quebec the forepart of August, and I long for news concerning it.

I had the honor of making the personal acquaintance of Field Marshal Romanzow at Berlin. He was there with the grand duke who, as you know, married again after the death of his first wife, the princess of Würtemberg, the daughter of Prince Eugene, who resides at Montbeillard.

I desire you to give my thanks to Captain Gerlach for his two letters, and for drawing the plans. I will write him at the first opportunity. I am now just setting out for Potsdam. You are, I believe, informed of the ill health of the duke. The least mental excitement may bring us a great misfortune.

I am, sir, most respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

CHARLES.

LETTERS OF GENERAL RIEDESEL TO THE DUKE FERDINAND OF BRUNSWICK, LÜNEBERG.[2]

THREE RIVERS, *June* 1, 1777.[3]

Monseigneur:

I had the honor of receiving five gracious letters from your serene highness before the departure of my last letter of the 10th of last month; and I am thus enabled to again make mention of their safe arrival. Since then I have been so fortunate as to receive two more

---

[1] It will be noticed that the hereditary prince, though so far from the theatre of operations, had a much better appreciation of the magnitude of the war, than Riedesel or the English commanders.— *Translator.*

[2] The originals of these letters are still preserved. The duke always marked the date of their reception on the margin. It is not, however, known how these letters got back again among the papers of Riedesel.

[3] Received August 2; answered August 10, 1777.

letters from your highness, one dated the 20th, and one the 27th of September, for which, and for the assurance of your kind feelings toward me, I express my humblest thanks.

The English minister has suddenly changed the theatre of war to this vicinity. General Carleton has been deprived of the command of the army. He seems very indignant at this, and intends to enter a complaint with parliament against the injustice of the minister.

General Burgoyne will assume the command after crossing into New York and after communications are restored between himself and General Howe. God knows what he will do with the Canadian army which has already been a whip to his ambition.

A great deal is said concerning the army of General Howe, especially in regard to its discipline. But I know not how much we can believe of these reports, for it always seems to me that all is not gold that glitters, and Colonel McLean had to wait there[1] for five days to receive orders for the Canadian army.

To-morrow I shall leave Three Rivers; and the army will march in two columns for Crown point — the Germans on the left, and the English on the right — and I hope we will arrive there about the 13th of this month. I hope, also, that my reports will soon become more interesting, and that I shall be able to announce the capture of Carillon.[2]

Your serene highness will, in the continuation of this journal, find everything in regard to the position of the army; also, the latest news which we have received from the army of General Howe, and the present arrangements for the movements of our army during the coming campaign. I will, therefore, not trouble your highness further with repetition.

Lord Percy, indignant at General Howe, has returned to England, and I suppose that General Carleton will do the same thing before the close of this year.

The arrangements for the march forbid me writing any further; but my first report will certainly be very explicit.

I remain, etc.,

RIEDESEL.

CROWN POINT, *June* 28, 1777.

I am not able to express to you my gratitude for the care with which your highness answers my reports, and, perhaps, no one else can show so many answers from yourself as I.

---

[1] New York (?).— *Translator.*

[2] Ticonderoga.

By the appointment of another commander in chief of the army, the theatre of war is so changed that it does not now look like the same one. The new one judges somewhat hastily, and carries out the plan of the ministers. His predecessor went to work more carefully but safely, and made no more until he was convinced it could be carried out. The result will show who was right in the present situation.

The rebels still hold Carillon with an army of from 3,000 to 4,000 men; and I believe we shall have to undertake a siege. We still lack, however, ammunition, and the most necessary things for this purpose. The season of the year keeps us here. It is lamentable that the requisite things for this campaign have not been sent here from England until so late. Consequently, a large portion of the time that should have been devoted to the campaign, passes by, and thus this expensive war is prolonged.

My wife, with her three children, has finally arrived in perfect health. They reached Canada on the 11th of June, and none of them suffered the least on the voyage. She speaks of this long voyage as a mere trifle. I was so fortunate as to see her at Three Rivers, where she will occupy my old quarters until circumstances provide her a safer place in New York. The children speak nothing but English, and no one takes them for Germans. She requests me, to request your highness graciously to remember them.

That you may see more plainly the movements of the army, I add here the continuation of the journal.

I remain, etc.,
RIEDESEL.

FORT EDWARD, *August* 8, 1777.

I have the honor of sending your highness the continuation of the journal in which you will see that we are masters of the Hudson; also, that the enemy has evacuated all the advantageous positions which he might still have held. Besides this, all the three rapids [1] are in our possession; and we can now place all our ships on the river, and have a clear passage to Albany. The rest of our position, you will see in the journal which I have the honor of inclosing in this letter. Matters are at present, at such a point, that everything, perhaps, can be decided in two different ways. Mr. Washington is falling back before General Howe; and Mr. Arnold is retreating upon Albany.

---

[1] Baker's falls at Sandy hill, Fort Edward and Fort Miller.— *Translator.*

Should our army adopt measures to prevent its defeat — a contingency which would weaken us — then we may expect either that, with our army in high spirits, the rebels will shortly be surrounded, or that a decisive victory will put an end to the entire campaign.

I hope to be able to communicate to your highness, in my next letter, several interesting items of news, and, among them, that the troops of my gracious master have given fresh proofs of their good will, and their desire to fight for the glory of their nation.

I have the honor, etc.,

RIEDESEL.

JOHN'S FARM, *August* 28, 1777.[1]

Fortune not being on one side every day, the expedition of Lieutenant Colonel Baum, supported by Lieutenant Colonel Breymann, has not, therefore, met with the same good result as the affair near Hubbardstown. But it was not because the troops did not fight just as bravely. The distance between these two corps of our army enabled the enemy to attack Baum with eight times greater numbers; and, in spite of all the exertions of Breymann, he was unable to reenforce Baum at the right time. I do not doubt but that this was the second part of the affair at Hubertstown. You will see the account of this sad affair better in the journal, which I have the honor of inclosing. It may be that my gracious master, the duke, will communicate to your serene highness, the detailed reports which I have sent to him, in order that he might take under his protection the commanders of both corps, and might see that our troops did their duty on that occasion. The transportation of provisions over the three rapids, still detains our army at this place. The rebels are fortified at Half-moon, ten English miles this side of Albany; but I believe that we shall soon advance against them whenever the largest portion of our provisions have crossed the rapids. Although our army is considerably weakened by the sending out of detachments, and the bad result of the affair of the 16th, I believe that we shall attack the enemy, providing he remains at Half-moon. Thus fourteen days will decide the result; and I hope that we shall at least make up for the losses we have lately sustained.

I remain, etc,

RIEDESEL.

[1] After the unsuccessful affair at Bennington.

REPORTS OF GENERAL RIEDESEL TO THE REIGNING DUKE, CHARLES OF BRUNSWICK, LÜNEBURG.[1]

On the voyage to Freyburg road,
SHIP PALLAS, *March* 21, 1776.

Most illustrious Duke; most gracious Prince and Lord:

I report to your serene highness that, in consequence of contrary winds, we are still riding at anchor in the road at the confluence of the Elbe and Schwinge. Yesterday, ten ships sailed for Freyburg with a favorable wind. We may, perhaps, follow this afternoon if the change of tide brings an auspicious wind. The ships at Freyburg are to wait for us, as the direction of the voyage depends on our vessel.

The wind now begins to blow; the anchors are hoisted; and we will start for Freyburg, whence we shall sail for England with the first favorable wind.

I am now able to give your serene highness a general idea of the proposed plan of operations. All the troops that are destined for Canada, and of which the first Brunswick division will be the first, start for the River St. Lawrence. It remains to be seen whether Quebec is still in possession of the English, and whether the rebels have occupied it with an army. If Quebec is yet ours, then the troops will be disembarked there, and await the arrival of the second division and the other troops, which, together, will make an army of 14,000 men. Upon reaching America they will encamp upon the island of Orleans, where a camp will very probably have been prepared for their reception. Thence, having reembarked, they will sail up the river, toward Lac St. Pierre, to Montreal. This latter city is in the worst possible condition; and every one claiming to be in command of it, it is said that it would be an easy matter to compel its surrender. Near Montreal is a *trajet*[2] of eight German miles, which has to be crossed on land. The empty ships will proceed on the river Sorel, and we will embark again on Lake Champlain, when we will sail up the lake to Fort Crown Point, which place the rebels, also, have in their possession. This fortification, however, is said to be a most miserable one, and will easily be demolished by the numerous cannon of Colonel Phillips in a few days. With the capture of this fort our expedition for this year will very probably terminate.

---

[1] Most of these reports or letters are only to be found in their first rough drafts. The dates in these first copies are generally omitted and can be given only approximately.— *Note in original.*

[2] I. e., a portage.— *Translator.*

In case the Americans have an army at Montreal or Crown Point, a battle will take place at one of those points. This, however, is doubtful, since Canada cannot furnish a sufficient quantity of provisions for an army, and inasmuch, also, as the Canadians cannot be trusted by the Americans. Should Quebec have surrendered and Carleton been captured, then it is to be ascertained whether the city is occupied by only a few thousand men, or whether congress has sent a large army to occupy not only Quebec but the surrounding country, especially the island of Orleans. The latter supposition is said to be almost impossible, and is doubted. In the first case, I, with the first Brunswick division which will be the first to arrive, will disembark on the island Orleans and ascertain if a descent can be made on the coast of Quebec itself, and if the heights, on which General Wolfe fought his battle, can be gained.

Should Quebec be but weakly garrisoned by the rebels, it is thought to be an easy matter to retake the place from the side; but this is only possible, provided we are accompanied by a transport of artillery. If, however, the garrison at Quebec is too strong, then we must stay on the island of Orleans and await there the arrival of the other English troops and the second division. And should it prove that a large rebel army is at Quebec, then we shall not be able to go even to this island, but will have to remain on the vessels, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, until our entire army arrives. The expedition will then begin with the siege of Quebec; and should this be begun, the season will probably pass without the capture by our troops of Montreal.

The army of General Howe, with whom will be all the Hessian troops, will, after leaving 2,000 men at Boston, rendezvous on Long island, and make that place the basis of future operations. This army will go up the Hudson mostly by water, and thus also operate against Crown Point. Should this army succeed in placing itself between Northampton and Lüneburg and remain master of the Hudson and Connecticut rivers, then the rebels not only will be cut in two, and the connection severed between Philadelphia and Cambridge, but the armies of Generals Carleton and Howe will be able to form a junction.

The third expedition is to be undertaken by General Clinton and Lord Dunmore in Virginia. They are to ascertain if that province can be gained over to the royal cause by kind measures. In case they are successful in this, they will endeavor to form there a national army, make a junction with the royal troops, and then march against Maryland and New York. But should they not succeed in their

efforts at conciliation, then Clinton is to reunite with Howe. For this reason English regiments only are to be employed on this expedition.

This is the general plan. I will be able to send more particular news to your serene highness from England or rather from Spithead.

Hoping that your serene highness will graciously remember me,

I remain with deep devotion,

Your highness's humble servant,

RIEDESEL.

Hoping that your highness has received my last report, I proceed to state the condition we are in at present:

The rebels still hold the city and island of Montreal where the river Richelieu empties into the St. Lawrence. The corps, which is to operate against Canada, numbers about 4,000 men, and is encamped near St. Johns. It is represented as being in the greatest consternation, and preparing to pack up and retreat. In that case our army, if the wind is favorable, can get there.

All the English regiments, with the exception of one, either have gone or are going to Three Rivers, where is the rendezvous of the main army. They go partly by land and partly by water. These regiments operate on our right or on the left bank of the St. Lawrence. General Carleton was so kind as to intrust me with a separate corps consisting of 300 Indians, 150 Canadians, the English battalion Makeline, the grenadier battalion Breymann and the regiments Riedesel and Hesse Hanau. I am to remain on the other side or to the right of the River St. Lawrence, advance as far as Sorel in order to attack it in case the rebels attempt to hold it, and then wait for further orders from General Carleton. He appears to have confidence in me, for he gives me at all times, either the command of the advance guard, or of a separate corps. I cannot deny that I am exceedingly flattered that this general desires to use me in preference to all; and I am convinced that the Brunswick troops will have an opportunity to distinguish themselves, and that they will not suffer from want of provisions as there are not too many of them together. The provisions, including the biscuits, we draw from the large transports, which follow us constantly.

The dragoons and the regiment Prince Frederick have furnished to-day the first guard in the city. It numbers 120 men. The parade was good, and Carleton appeared highly pleased. These two regiments furnish also a guard of 300 men for the height opposite Quebec, in order to keep a lot of disloyal Canadians straight. The garrison

lies in barracks in a pretty comfortable condition, and are furnished rations by the king.

I have gone over all of the fortifications at Quebec. Were they in Germany, four to eight cannon would make such an opening in them in a few hours that half a battalion could march through it. It cannot be denied that Carleton has displayed great bravery. He had a great amount of work done in the middle of the winter, that the fortifications might be placed in a tolerably defensive condition, and he has rallied a garrison, consisting of citizens, Canadians and sailors, not having had a single regular soldier. But it must also be confessed, on the other hand, that the rebels must be a miserable lot of soldiers, since so few men, in such a condition, are able to oppose them.

I witnessed to-day a great ceremony. Four deputations of Indians, in the name of their people, offered their services to the king of England. The lower part of their bodies was naked, and was painted all over with red and green. They spoke in their own language, which was explained by an interpreter. General Carleton told them that two armies would march up the river on either bank. They could, therefore, decide for themselves whether they would go with him or with me.

For the purpose of giving your highness an idea of the march we are about to enter upon, I take the liberty of stating the following:

The men will march by land. Each regiment will receive four bateaux, on which the tents, officer's baggage, and rations for fifteen days are to be transported. They are to encamp close by the river on suitable hills, which, in case of necessity, will be entrenched by redoubts and ditches. All the baggage is to be carried on board the bateaux (which will be close at hand), before breaking up camp and marching further. The savages, Canadians and the light troops will form a chain around the camp. The large transports, on which the heavy baggage is to be left, will follow at a distance.

At present, the horses will be of no use, on account of the army having to cross little rivers over which there are no bridges. I was obliged to leave all our horses behind at Quebec, where they will have a chance to rest; nor shall I have them brought to me until I reach Lake Champlain. Thither I shall go, like the rest of the army, on foot; and I hope I shall set a good example to my men.

I can report nothing further in regard to our march. One dragoon has died at Quebec. Those who are dangerously ill are there in a hospital.

I pray your gracious remembrance, etc.,

RIEDESEL.[1]

---

[1] This letter was probably written from La Prairie, under date of June 23, 1776.

Since my last report, nothing new on the part of the enemy has taken place. All the regiments yet remain in the same quarters as when I last wrote.

Last week, on the 25th of July, the English Brigadier Gordon was shot in the right shoulder while in the woods near St. John, and now lies in a dangerous condition. I, myself, have passed over this same road more than thirty times. Through our patrols (consisting of Canadians, Indians and regulars), it was ascertained that the rebels had sent one captain and fifty men through the woods from Crown Point (which is forty leagues from here), to reconnoitre the cantonment of our troops. One of their officers with five men actually stole into the very centre of our encampment. It was these latter who shot Brigadier General Gordon.

With an army in Germany it would be scarcely possible for an enemy to steal into a cantonment, but here, and with the way in which armies are posted, it is easier. The only wonder is how the rebels could make this long march of forty leagues through deserts and dense woods, and carry, at the same time, rations for fifteen days on their backs. The effect, however, of their audacity will be to cause Brigadier Frazer, with the light infantry, to advance to Isle aux Noix. Meanwhile, 100 Indians and 200 Canadians have gone to Crown Point to strike a blow.

I ascribe the large number of sick solely to the rations received on board the ships. These rations are still furnished at Quebec, but Carleton, in consequence of my oft repeated requests, has granted fresh meat; and I, therefore, hope that the sick, especially among the dragoons who proportionately have the largest number ill, will now decrease in number. Those who have died at Quebec, were generally those who were too quickly cured of fever last fall; and it may be for a similar reason, that those companies, who were at Wolfenbüttel, have the most sick, and those who were at Brunswick the fewest.

All the deserters, with the exception of three, have been caught. Six were punished to-day and six are yet to be tried. A grenadier, who, on the march, wounded a noncommissioned officer, who urged him on while straggling, evidently with the intention of deserting, will very likely be sentenced to death by a court martial. Two Canadians, who aided two of our men to desert, I had whipped before the front this morning. This I did with the consent of General Carleton. It caused, however, quite an excitement among the inhabitants, who will be careful in future. All those who caught deserters received from me one guinea *per capita*. A few noncommissioned

officers were punished by me, for negligence, by being chained and whipped; and three young officers were placed under arrest for the same offense.

I cannot but praise the zeal and activity of the commanders of regiments.

The two regiments quartered here now drill and fire in whole battalions. They are, without praising ourselves, so well drilled that I wish I could show them to your highness, so confident, am I, that you would be satisfied with them. They are better than they were last fall. The grenadier battalion level their muskets, and get down on their knees better[1] than my own regiment, but the latter loads and marches better, and takes surer aim. I have suceeded in creating a certain jealousy between the two battalions. Breymann does not like to see my regiment get ahead of his, and I, on my part, tell mine, which I drill myself, that the grenadiers drill better than they.

We still know nothing different regarding the army of General Howe. The time for crossing Lake Champlain seems as yet quite in the future, and I can, therefore, report nothing reliable in relation to the time of our commencing our march.

RIEDESEL.[2]

There is nothing new to report to your highness. The army is still in its old quarters, with this difference, that General Frazer, with his three battalions, the English grenadiers, the English light infantry and the 24th Regiment, is encamped on the Isle aux Noix, and further, that the post at St. John has again been garrisoned by the 62d Regiment, and 200 men of my brigade under Lieutenant Colonel Von Specht. I was at St. John myself in order to place and instruct this command properly. I also visited Isle aux Noix at the same time. This is a good post, and may be considered the key to Canada from the New England side. There is still, on this island, a large entrenchment, built by the French during the last war, which is yet in good condition and of good service to Brigadier Frazer.

Our ship building at St. John progresses slowly; and, although General Burgoyne has assured me that everything will be ready in ten days, and that the army will be able to cross the lake by the 1st of September, I must confess that I doubt it, and believe, alas, with good reasons, that the commencement of the expedition will have to be postponed fourteen days longer.

---

[1] I. e., in order to fire.— *Translator.*

[2] Written the latter part of July, 1776.

General Carleton has not yet returned from Quebec, the reestablishment of all civil offices keeping him longer than he at first expected. Neither have we reliable intelligence from the fleet of my lord, nor from the army of General Howe. There is a rumor afloat at Montreal that my lord Howe had entered the Hudson in sight of New York, and that the army was disembarking behind that city and the fortified camp of the rebels. In such a case, it was said, that the latter would be surrounded. Should this news, which, however, needs confirmation, be true, then the rebels would be in a sad fix, and nothing would be left for them but to attack Howe with a disadvantage, or to surrender finally for want of provisions. Neither Carleton nor Burgoyne have any news whatever from Howe. *He has not even communicated to them his plan of operations.*

The condition of the troops as regards desertions, arrests, sick, etc., etc., your highness will see by the accompanying report. The sick are in about the same proportion, but it seems as if their number would now finally diminish, since the terrible heat has gone by. Some have died, but they were mostly those who had weak lungs. I am about done with drilling the men; and, I must confess, without boasting, that the two battalions, which are here, are in a very good condition. I wait for Carleton's return to show them to him.

RIEDESEL.

Nothing of interest has occurred since my last report of July 29th, from Skeensborough, except that I was detached to Castletown with five battalions of the left wing from the 10th to the 25th, for the purpose of making the rebels believe that the army intended marching in that direction, and of giving the loyal inhabitants a chance to join the army. I have sent out a number of detachments, given orders for taking down and erecting magazines, and reconnoitered as far as my corps was to be the advance guard of the army. Opposite me, at a distance of about ten hours, stood a corps of 500 men, under Colonel Von Werner; and, although I have twice asked permission to scatter this corps, Burgoyne will not allow me to do it, pretending that he does not wish me to go so far away from the army.

The passage of the artillery and its ammunition across Lake George having been arranged, Burgoyne, with the right wing, advanced from Skeensborough to Fort Anne with the intention of there awaiting my return from Castletown, and then attacking the rebel army near Fort Edward. But the latter did not wait for our arrival; for

[1] Written about the 29th of August, 1776.

Monsieur Arnold, as soon as our advance guard showed itself, fell back five English miles. On the second day he went back as far as Saratoga. During this retreat, his rear guard lost upward of 30 prisoners, and quite as many dead. The want of teams, in which to transport the baggage and ammunition, was the cause of our army being able only to advance in battalions. As I was the furthest behind, on account of my expedition to Castletown, I did not reach the army with the right wing until yesterday.

Unless a total change is made in the system of the army, it will be impossible to execute with it rapid movements. So much difficulty is experienced by our having no teams, and being so far away from our bateaux, that the army is unable to advance three German miles without waiting again eight and ten days for our necessary supplies to be brought up.

I have taken the liberty of proposing a plan to Burgoyne, viz: to send a detachment to the flatlands of the Connecticut river, and confiscate all the horses in that vicinity. There are a great many in that region, and, in this way, our 1,500 Canadian horses can be devoted entirely to drawing the artillery and trains, leaving the horses, thus procured, solely for the conveyance of the baggage. The army could then march whenever it pleased. He seemed to like the plan very much, and told me he intended to carry it out. He also said that he would then mount the regiment of dragoons.

Yesterday we received the first reliable news from General Howe's army. It seems he advanced from New York up the Hudson; and, it is supposed that a general engagement will take place between his forces and the main army under Washington, who is fortified on the highlands. A portion of Howe's army has been detached to the right toward the Connecticut river, and it is said to have advanced as far as Hartford. Another detachment, it is also stated, has been sent to Philadelphia, but it is not known as yet how far it has progressed.

It appears to be the intention of General Washington to concentrate the entire strength of the rebels at *one* point, and there await its final fate. If, therefore, our armies move carefully, and neither one nor the other are defeated, it is fair to presume that the whole rebel army will be surrounded before the end of September, and our army united to that of General Howe.

As regards the condition of the regiments, their health is much better this year than the last. Still, those of Rhetz and Specht have quite a number sick. I have ordered all the heavy baggage, and whatever else the regiments have left behind in Canada, to be sent to Carillon (Ticonderoga).

Inasmuch as the company of chasseurs have done such extraordinary good service at Hubardstown, and it is necessary that its prestige with the enemy should be maintained, I intend, with the approbation of your highness, to take from the other regiments those chasseurs, that are well drilled, and add them to it. Thus it will always be kept in fine condition for service.

RIEDESEL.[1]

Fortune is often fickle, but especially so in war, a fact of which the following unpleasant event is a proof. Misfortune has fallen in an especial manner upon a portion of your troops, and that, too, after the glorious affair at Hubardstown.

Your highness will remember seeing in my last report how difficult and laborious our marches have been on account of the want of horses and vehicles for the transportation of the provisions, artillery and regimental baggage. When in camp at Skeensborough, I took the liberty of communicating my ideas on the subject to General Burgoyne. He accepted my memoir — a copy of which I here inclose as proof, and answered me that my suggestions accorded with his views, and he would, therefore, endeavor to carry them out as soon as possible.

This memoir was written by me on the 22d of July, and was answered by him on the 27th. The troops were marching; everything was quiet; and I heard nothing more of this project until the 4th of August, when the whole army were together near Fort Edward. All at once, Burgoyne came in the afternoon into my tent, and handed me for my perusal, the instructions which had been made for Lieutenant Colonel Baum to join him in an expedition. He further stated that the latter was to carry out the instructions immediately, and that they had been given him in consequence of a plan which I had sent to himself (General Burgoyne). But how great was my astonishment at finding my plan so changed! My idea was to have Baum march behind the army, by way of Castletown and Clarendon, to the Connecticut river. Thus, the enemy's army would not have discovered the movement soon enough to send a hostile force against Baum. It would also have been within our power to get in the rear of his army with a corps of our own men. But instead of this, it was ordered in the instructions that Baum should cross the Battenkill opposite Saratoga, and march straight to Bennington, where a hostile force was defending a strong magazine.

[1] Probably written the forepart of August, 1777.

It was hoped that Baum would be able to beat the enemy at Bennington and capture this magazine, after which he was to march to Manchester and so carry out his instructions.

This corps, also, was, contrary to my advice, formed much weaker than was advisable, and was likewise composed of so many different troops that it was not nearly as effective as I designed. Accordingly I did not fail to represent the danger to which Lieutenant Colonel Baum would be exposed, showing at the same time very plainly that he would be unable to attain his object. Nevertheless, General Burgoyne maintained his purpose, giving for it the following reasons:

1st. By the capture of the magazine at Bennington our army would be provided with rations for at least from ten to fourteen days; and thus we would be enabled to transfer a large magazine from Fort George to Saratoga, and continue the expedition.

2d. As he was about to advance himself with the entire army to Saratoga, and General Fraser being already as near as could be to Stillwater, where General Arnold was, the enemy most certainly would not dare to send troops in large numbers to Bennington. But even if he should do so he (General Burgoyne) would be ready at any moment to attack a corps thus sent, in the rear.

3d. Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger was then besieging Fort Stanwix on the Mohawk river. General Arnold desired to retain that fort, and would, therefore, detach a considerable force thither. In order to prevent him from doing this, we must engage the enemy's attention.

All my representations were, therefore, in vain. General Fraser and Lieutenant Colonel Baum started on the 9th of August. The latter was to receive his several detachments from the former. He was instructed in everything according to the wishes of Burgoyne; and Captain O'Connell, also an engineer officer, was sent with him as an interpreter. Colonel and Governor Skeene also accompanied him to assist in the dispatches and the different supplies.

When Lieutenant Colonel Baum arrived at Fort Miller, where he was to receive, on the following day, the necessary troops from Fraser, everything was wanted. Neither the savages, nor the Canadians could be rallied — most of them having advanced against the rebels near Stillwater. Baum was thus forced to remain at Fort Miller on the 10th, and I received orders, against my judgment, to furnish another 100 men of Breymann's corps as a reenforcement to Baum.

On the 11th, the latter advanced to the Battenkill opposite Saratoga, and arrived on the 12th at Cambridge. His advance guard en-

countered a detachment of rebels which was repulsed. Eight men were taken prisoners, and a magazine, containing 100 bushels of corn, a large quantity of flour, 1,500 oxen, and a great many other things were captured. It was here that Baum was informed that the enemy at Bennington numbered from 15,000 to 18,000 men, but that they were mostly militia men who had little idea of fighting, and who, at his advance, would certainly fall back. He also learned that the stores at Bennington were considerable, containing upward of 2,000 oxen and 300 horses.

Animated by the result of his first encounter, and being a man of determined will, Baum made up his mind to march on Bennington on the 13th, and dislodge the enemy at that place. He sent a report of all that had happened up to that time to Burgoyne, who not only was well pleased with his whole conduct, but consented to the attack on Bennington, with, however, this remark, that he (Baum) should not advance until he was well informed of the enemy's position and was sure of attacking it advantageously.

Lieutenant Colonel Baum halted on the 13th, four miles this side of Bennington. On the morning of the 14th, just as he was in the act of starting, he was attacked by about 700 men, who, however, fell back upon the firing of a few cannon. Baum, at this point, received intelligence from some royalists and a prisoner, that the enemy was well fortified at Bennington, and that he expected reenforcements when he would there make an attack. Accordingly, Baum very judiciously changed his plan; remained where he was, and asked for reenforcements. But the tone of his request was such as made Burgoyne believe that he did not wish to risk anything, and only asked for reenforcements that he might attack Bennington.

This was the time when Baum should have fallen back; because the distance between him and Breymann (some thirty miles) was too great for the latter to come to his assistance in season, in case of attack. But this was not thought of, and Breymann received orders on the morning of the 15th, to go to the assistance of Baum, who was informed of his coming.

The reason why Baum was not recalled was, that he was bent upon taking Bennington. I will not recapitulate the details of this expedition, but inclose herewith his report. By this, as well as by other circumstances, it is plain that the distance between him and Breymann was too great for the latter to arrive in time. All, who were present, testify that Baum and the troops did well. He had thoroughly beaten the enemy when he was forced, through want of ammunition, to retreat. This the enemy observing, again advanced.

In regard to the commencement of this affair, its progress and its termination no one yet can state anything definite. The statements of those who have escaped are so at variance that no certain conclusion can be at present reached. But this much is certain; that Baum, after being informed that Breymann was coming to his assistance, would not leave his post. Several small bands of armed men were near his camp in the morning, but he was told that they were royalists. Between nine and ten o'clock, these bands growing stronger and stronger, he began to investigate, and found that he was entirely surrounded by the enemy. These were the 1,800 men from Bennington, who, the previous day, had been reenforced by 2,000 men from Arnold's army — a fact of which no one knew anything.

Upon a prearranged signal, he was attacked at about half-past ten o'clock from all sides. He held out for two hours, repulsing the enemy twice, until having expended all his ammunition he was on the point of retreating with his dragoon regiment, being entirely cut off from the savages and Canadians. Twice he cut his way through the enemy. None of the dragoons having another shot, he ordered them to sling their guns over their shoulders and draw their swords. In this way he endeavored to cut his way through the third time. What has been the fate of the poor men God only knows. Of the dragoons, who left here one hundred and fifty men strong, only seven have returned. I have now about eighty men of this regiment with me, consisting of a camp guard, a few sick and some who remained behind.

General Burgoyne has publicly praised the men, but notwithstanding this, I cannot divest myself of the sorrow which I feel at this event, especially since the expedition was planned contrary to my wishes. I, myself, offered to go with Breymann's corps, but Burgoyne refused me on the ground that there was no other general with the army but he and I. Aside from the great loss of so many brave men of your highness, and the boast of the rebels, this affair will not be of much consequence, for Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger has captured Fort Stanwix with many cannon and a strong garrison. It is also said that General Clinton has won a battle near the highlands.

The army of Arnold has evacuated Stillwater, and, it is rumored, is in Albany. As soon as our provisions and the necessary bateaux, which are transported by land, shall have reached us, the army will advance, and will soon be in Albany in spite of our losses.

I would recommend to your favor Lieutenant Colonel Breymann and Major Von Barner. They have acted bravely. This corps, with the exception of its losses, is in the best condition. I must not

suffer many more such losses, otherwise I would rather sacrifice my life in the service of your highness, than to spend it in nothing but sorrow and misfortune.

Your most obedient and humble servant,
RIEDESEL.[1]

MEMOIR OF GENERAL RIEDESEL TO GENERAL BURGOYNE.

SKEENSBOROUGH, *July* 22, 1777.

Sir: Your excellency will remember that in the spring, on your arrival at Three Rivers, you gave me permission always to express my opinion to you freely, whenever an opportunity for doing good to the regiments offered itself. The position in which the army is at present induces me to take this freedom, with the firm confidence that the kindness of heart, and the friendship of your excellency will pardon it.

Great and rapid successes have at once placed the army in such a position that we will often be forced to be, either with the whole or part of the army, far away from the rivers and our bateaux. The equipment of the army is of such a nature that our bateaux are very necessary, if we would not find ourselves short of everything. This makes trouble. One-half of a regiment runs around to procure the necessaries for the soldier. The men are weary from toil, and the battalion grows so weak that they look more like slim companies than heavy masses of men. The movements of the army can only be carried out slowly and by piece-meal, lacking, as it does, the means to transport that which is most necessary.

I, therefore, give it as my opinion that there are only two ways for us to do. We must with the army always remain near a river, and not leave it until means offer themselves for transporting the bateaux to another river — the time for their transportation not being more than eight days. This proceeding, however, in my opinion, is attended with the following disadvantages:

1st. The army are able to move but very slowly; and the advantages which offer themselves upon the sudden retreat of the enemy cannot be availed of in time. Consequently the consternation which might perhaps be produced among the rebels by the presence of the royal army would not be increased.

2d. The inhabitants of the country, who are at present extremely frightened, will voluntarily submit, and the army in a short time be

---

[1] Written the latter part of August, 1777.

provided with everything, provided we now and then appear with detachments. The latter, however, must not be allowed to go too great a distance from the main body. The enemy has small parties everywhere, and these keep the people in subjection. Therefore, confiscate all the teams, and make a desert of the whole country. Thus your excellency will be able to gain a much wider field for the operations of your army than at present.

3d. The country, which our army has just left, has taken fresh courage; a new militia has been organized; small detachments once more roam through these districts; and each partisan can operate against our communications. This latter circumstance may in future be even more detrimental to us than at present.

To avoid all these evils, our army must be brought into a condition in which it can move with much more celerity than it has been accustomed to. That is, the requisite number of horses must be procured to carry the necessary baggage of the officers, the tents, ammunition, artillery and provisions. It is, in my opinion, very disadvantageous to transport the baggage and tents on Canadian carts. They spoil the good roads, and can get along only with the utmost difficulty on good roads. The column is, therefore, lengthened too much, and the men are very often without tents, the carts not being able to keep up. But a pack horse goes everywhere. It can walk on the flanks of the regiment, and thus always provide the army with necessaries. Pack horses, therefore, would in my humble opinion, do away entirely with the carts. I would, also, keep no more teams than were absolutely necessary for the transportation of the provisions and artillery.

When the regiments have a sufficient number of pack horses collected, and when the transportation of the artillery is safely provided for, then your excellency can send out detachments at pleasure; keep a check upon the main body of the enemy; and thus keep the inhabitants in subjection — yea, even break up their militia, and procure the necessary support for the army You can, also, extend or contract the army as you see fit, and thus freely operate independently of the bateaux and a thousand other contingencies.

I believe that the army may easily be placed in this independent position in three or four weeks at the furthest.

The country between here and the Connecticut and even fifteen miles beyond that river is destitute of troops and full of the best horses. In fact, there is not an inhabitant who does not possess three or four horses.

If your excellency will detach to the Connecticut, the regiment of dragoons, the corps of Peters and of Yessop, and an officer and thirty

of each regiment, under the command of a good staff officer, I am convinced that this corps would procure the necessary number of horses for the army. The regiment of dragoons would thus be mounted, and do all that your excellency would expect from it.

Your excellency might determine upon a proportionate tax of about five to six guineas for each horse. A commissary might go with this corps and give a receipt for each horse to the owner, who, upon producing it, could be paid by the general cashier. The officers who received horses might then have the money for them, gradually deducted from their pay, while the horses for the dragoons would be paid for by the king. This detachment, also, could, at the same time, gather up all the ox teams to be used in transporting the provisions. This plan, if carried out, would place the army in the most flourishing condition, and your excellency would no longer have any difficulty in carrying out each movement, either in detail or otherwise according to your own plan.

Your excellency might, perhaps, think it mean to take all the horses from the inhabitants, but it must be considered: 1st. That the chief work here is done by oxen, and that horses are only made use of either for carrying grain to the mill, or for riding. 2d. The horses could be bought at a price much above their value. 3d. If there was a want of horses, they would not be able to convey the news to the enemy so rapidly or so often. 4th. This little blood letting would, at least, be a just punishment for their treason and bad conduct toward their king. I am convinced that this course can be justified before God, the king and parliament, it being to the material advantage of the army and his majesty.[1]

Having thus communicated my ideas candidly and confidentially to the friendship of your excellency, I rely on your forbearance and pardon for my freedom.

I have the honor, etc.,
RIEDESEL.

[1] According to a document, inclosed with this communication, there were eleven hundred and forty-seven horses necessary for the army. This statement of Eelking is not quite accurate. In the document here referred to (which I have, and is now before me), the above number, 1,147, refers only to the number of horses necessary to mount the men and officers of the German and English regiments. According to this document, 1,000 additional horses were necessary for the transportation of the tents, ammunition, artillery and provisions, thus making the entire number requisite 2,147.— *Translator.*

List of the Losses of the Brunswick and Hessian Corps under Lieutenant Colonel Baum, near Bennington, August 16, 1777.

COMPILATION, 26 AUGUST, 1777.

Composition of the corps.	Effective condition of the expedition.					Number of those whose fate is not known.				
	Officers.	Noncom. officers.	Drummers.	Soldiers.	Servants.	Officers.	Noncom. officers.	Drummers.	Soldiers.	Servants.
Generals of staff,	1					1				
Regiment of dragoons,	15	28	6	171	14	15	28	6	165	14
Grenadier battalion,	1	2	2	20	1	1	2	2	19	1
Regiment Rhetz,				2					2	
Regiment Riedesel,	1	1	1	17		1	1	1	17	
Regiment Specht,				16					16	
Light battalion of Barner,	2	5	1	51	2	2	3	1	49	2
Hesse Hanau artillery,	1	1		12		1	1		12	
Total,	21	37	10	289	17	21	37	10	280	17

Number of those who returned to the army: Soldiers — regiment of dragoons, 6; grenadier battalion, 1; light battalion of Barner, 2; total, 9.

Names of those officers whose fate is unknown.

Of the dragoon regiment:

1. Captain O'Connell, of the General's staff; 2. Lieutenant Colonel Baum; 3. Major Von Maiborn; 4. Captain Fricke; 5. Captain Reineking; 6. Captain Schlagenteufel, Jr.; 7. Lieutenant Brown, adjutant; 8. Lieutenant Von Reckroth; 9. Lieutenant Von Bothmer; 10. Cornet Schönewald; 11. Cornet Gräf; 12. Cornet Stutzer; 13. Quartermaster Gericke; 14. Chaplain Melzheimer; 15. Auditor Thomas; 16. Chief Surgeon Vorbrodt.

Of the other regiments:

17. Lieutenant Burghoff, of the grenadier battalion; 18. Ensign Andrea, of the regiment Riedesel; 19. Captain Thomas, of the regiment Barner; 20. Ensign Specht, of the regiment Barner; 21. Lieutenant Bach, of the Hessian artillery.

The English lieutenant of engineers, Dumford, who was detailed to Lieutenant Colonel Baum, shared, also, the fate of the above officers.

List of losses of the German detachment, under Lieutenant Colonel Baum during the affair near St. Coyk, on the 16th August, 1777.

Composition of the corps.	Effective condition.				Killed.				Wound'd.				Missing.				Total.			
	Officers.	Nonc. Offi.	Drummers.	Privates.	Officers.	Nonc. Offi.	Drummers.	Privates.	Officers.	Nonc. Offi.	Drummers.	Privates.	Officers.	Nonc. Offi.	Drummers.	Privates.	Officers.	Nonc. Offi.	Drummers.	Privates.
Grenadier battalion,.....	10	24	15	284	1	1	..	13	1	5		23	4	4	3	65	6	10	3	101
Lt. battalion Von Barner,	11	27	10	240	1		..		4	2	1	28	1	7	1	57	6	9	2	85
Hesse Hanau artillery,...	1	2		18		1	..	3	1	1		3					1	2		6
Total,.....	22	53	25	542	2	2	..	16	6	8	1	54	5	11	4	122	13	21	5	192

Officers killed.

Captain V. Schiek, of the grenadier battalion; Lieutenant Muchlenfield, of the battalion Barner.

Wounded officers.

Lieutenant Colonel Breymann, Major Von Barner, Captain Von Geisan, Captain Von Gleisenberg, Lieutenant Hanemann, all of Barner's battalion; Lieutenant Spangenberg, of the Hessian artillery.

Missing officers.

Captain Von Bartlin, Lieutenant Gebhardt, Lieutenant Meyer, Lieutenant Von Annieres, all of the grenadier battalion; Ensign Hagemann, of the battalion Barner.

Thus the corps numbered, after the engagement, only, 9 officers, 32 noncommissioned officers, 20 musicians and 350 privates.

ACCOUNT OF THE AFFAIR NEAR WALLORM-KORK, AUGUST 16, 1777, BY LIEUTENANT COLONEL BREYMANN.

At eight o'clock on the morning of the 15th of August, I received orders from his excellency, General Burgoyne, by his adjutant Captain Clark, to start at once with the corps, consisting of the company of yägers, a battalion of chasseurs and grenadiers and two cannon, and reenforce the corps of Lieutenant Colonel Baum. I started, therefore, at 9 o'clock; and there not being any teams, I had two ammunition boxes placed upon the artillery wagons. Each soldier carried with him forty cartridges. The crossing of the Battenkill consumed considerable time, for the men had all to wade through

the water. The great number of hills, the bottomless roads, and a severe and continuous rain, made the march so tedious that I could scarcely make one-half of an English mile an hour. The cannons and the ammunition wagons had to be drawn up hill one after the other. All this, of course, impeded our march very much; and I was unable to hasten it notwithstanding all of my endeavors. The carts loaded with ammunition upset, and it caused considerable trouble to right them.

To this, also, was added another difficulty. The guide, whom we had, lost the way and could not find it again. At last, Major Barner found a man who put us back on the right path.

All these unexpected mishaps prevented me from marching on the enemy on the 15th, as far as Cambridge, and, I, therefore, found myself obliged to encamp seven miles this side of that place.

Before reaching that place, however, I wrote to Lieutenant Colonel Baum notifying him of my arrival, and sent Lieutenant Hagemann with the dispatch. Lieutenant Colonel Baum received this note at eleven o'clock at night; and I received his answer on the following morning.

Early on the morning of the 16th, I set out, but the artillery horses being very weak, in consequence of their not having been fed, the march progressed very slowly.

Major Barner was obliged to go ahead with the advance guard in order to procure horses and carts. These reached us before noon, and we at once made use of them. The march was then continued with as much haste as possible beyond Cambridge, where I was forced to halt half an hour to collect the columns.

Toward two in the afternoon, Colonel Skeene sent two men to me with the request that I would detach one officer and twenty men to occupy the mill at St. Coyk, as the rebels showed signs of advancing on it. Instead of sending these men as he desired, I dispatched Captain Gleisenberg ahead with the advance guard, consisting of sixty grenadiers and chasseurs and twenty yägers. I followed as quickly as possible with the rest. Some of the ammunition carts again broke down on the road.

I reached the mill at St. Coyk at half-past four o'clock in the afternoon, and found the advance guard, which had been sent on ahead, in that place undisturbed. I candidly confess, that I did not hear a cannon or a musket shot either while on the march or in the mill.

Colonel Skeene was also at the mill. He informed me that the corps of Colonel Baum was only two miles distant. I supposed, therefore, that I could not do better than to hasten to meet it. Colonel Skeene was of the same opinion, and we both marched over the

bridge in order to reach the camp of Baum, being as yet unaware that his fate was already sealed. If Colonel Skeene was acquainted with that fact at this time, then I cannot imagine what could have induced him to keep it from me; for, in such a case, I certainly would not have risked an engagement.

I was scarcely 600 paces from the bridge when I noticed through the woods a considerable number of armed men (some of whom wore blouses and some jackets), hastening toward an eminence on my left flank. I called Colonel Skeene's attention to it, and received from him the reply, that these men were royalists. But upon his riding up toward them and calling to them, the matter was soon explained, for instead of returning an answer, they fired upon us. I, thereupon ordered the battalion Barner to move toward the height, while the yägers and grenadiers advanced on the right. The engagement now commenced, and lasted until nearly eight o'clock.

The cannon were posted on a road where there was a log house. This we fired upon as it was occupied by the rebels. This drove them out, and we then repulsed them on all sides, and this too, notwithstanding they received reenforcements.

The troops did their duty, and I know of no one who doubts this fact. After our ammunition was all expended, and the artillery in consequence ceased firing, nothing was more natural than to suppose that the enemy would be encouraged to renew his attack. Under this supposition I hastened, with a number of men, to the cannon in order to take them away. By this movement most of my men were severely wounded. The horses either were dead or in a condition which prevented them moving from the spot. In order, therefore, not to risk anything (as I was unable to return the enemy's fire, my ammunition being exhausted), I retreated on the approach of darkness, destroyed the bridge, had as many of the wounded as possible brought thither that they might not be captured, and, after a lapse of half an hour in company with Colonel Skeene, pursued my march and reached Cambridge toward twelve o'clock at night. Here, after taking precautionary measures, I remained during that night, and marched thence at daybreak of the 17th of August to the camp.

This is all that I am able to report concerning the affair of the 16th of August. The loss of the two cannon pains me most. I did my best to save them, but the above named circumstances and the want of ammunition rendered it impossible to retake them from under the fire of the enemy's muskets, although I would willingly have done it even at the loss of my life.

Your most obedient,

In camp at Saratoga, August 20, 1777. BREYMANN.

LETTER OF BURGOYNE'S ADJUTANT TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL BREYMANN.

Right Honorable Sir, highly respected Lieutenant Colonel: General Burgoyne has himself written a letter to you this forenoon, and he has directed me just now to address you a few lines to say that in consequence of the good news, he has this moment received, from Lieutenant Colonel Baum, he would be very glad — providing there be not too much risk — if his design in regard to the expedition could be carried out. He, however, leaves it to yourself and your talents to do that which you consider best.

The general requests that as soon as circumstances will safely permit it, you will send to the army the horses, cattle, etc., which you can spare, and which have been captured from the enemy.

I have the honor to be with high esteem,
Sir, your obedient servant,
FRANCIS CARR CLARKE.
Aid de camp.

In the service of the king.

To Mr. Breymann, Lieutenant Colonel and commander of the reserve of the left wing of the army.

LETTER OF JUSTIFICATION OF GENERAL RIEDESEL IN REGARD TO THE ENGAGEMENT NEAR BENNINGTON, ON THE 16TH OF AUGUST, 1777, TO DUKE CHARLES WILLIAM FERDINAND OF BRUNSWICK.

NEW YORK ISLAND, *September* 3, 1780.

Captain Cleve, upon his return from Germany to New York, informed me that there is still a doubt in the public mind as to whether I was not the author of the affair near Bennington. This, also, seems the more reasonable, since General Burgoyne, in his last letter of justification, published under the title of *The State of the Expedition*, seeks to persuade the world that I not only proposed the plan of the expedition but even drew up the order for its execution for Lieutenant Colonel Baum. I consider myself, therefore, in duty bound to throw still more light upon this subject, and endeavor to explain it a second time. This step on my part, moreover, seems to me the more necessary, since many persons try to make out that this unsuccessful expedition was the source of all the misfortunes which have befallen the northern army, and consider all the mishaps near Saratoga as the natural consequence of it. If this is true, then am I more guilty than HE who commanded the northern army up to the time of the convention, or HE who first planned the campaign of 1777.

The inclosed document marked A, was my plan. I was induced to make it on account of the sad situation in which I found myself placed while in my camp at Castletown, where tents, provisions and other necessaries had to be carried on the backs of the soldiers from a distance of nine miles, and where the entire region round about abounded with horses, which were used by the inhabitants, for no other purpose than to come in the morning to take the oath of allegiance to the king, and return again in the evening to the commanding officers of the enemy and relate everything they had seen in my camp.

No person, in reading this document, can discover the idea advanced, that this corps were to engage the enemy. On the contrary, it is asserted that the direction of the march was at such a distance from Albany, that the whole thing could have been carried out and the blow struck before the enemy could have even begun to suspect anything in regard to this excursion.

There is an interval between the date of this document and the time of the giving of the order to Lieutenant Colonel Baum, during which the condition of the army had materially changed. The question, therefore, arises, was the time when the order was given as favorable as it was when the plan was made?

General Burgoyne, himself, in his *State of the Expedition*, proves exactly the contrary. He states that the American troops, who attacked Lieutenant Colonel Baum near Bennington, were those who came from Massachusetts bay to reenforce the hostile army at Albany. But the country was, by that time, already in arms, and the plan rendered more difficult to be carried out than when I proposed the plan.

Since General Burgoyne passes over in silence those transactions which took place between him and me in regard to the expedition during this interval, I am forced to relate them in this place. As they were only oral I can but give my word of honor for their truthfulness.

On the 31st of July, I went from Fort Anne to Fort Edward for the purpose of seeing General Burgoyne. As soon as he perceived me, he took me one side, thanked me for the memoir, which I had sent him from Skeensborough, and excused himself for not having answered it, giving as an excuse that the time for its execution had not yet arrived.

I modestly answered, that matters had somewhat changed, but that I thought if Lieutenant Colonel Baum would go in the same direction as was laid down in the plan, and if another corps would endeavor to drive Colonel Warner from Manchester, and thus cause a

diversion in that direction, it would still not be impossible to have the undertaking carried out with success.

His answer to this was as follows: "I do not think it necessary to send Lieutenant Colonel Baum so far back. Warner, according to news I have received, has fallen back from Manchester to Bennington; and, if Baum takes such a circuitous rout, he cannot return in season, and I cannot postpone my intended advance until his arrival."

I, thereupon, took the liberty to remark that it ought to be decided whether Baum should take horses, oxen, etc., or should fight the enemy; that the enemy would certainly send a detachment against him from Albany, and thus the plan might be frustrated; but that if Baum should offer battle to the enemy, or assume the offensive against Warner, I would have nothing to say against it.[1]

Upon this, General Burgoyne, with a flattering mien tapped me upon my epaulette, and said: "My friend, I intend to kill two flies with one blow. I am informed that Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger is before Fort Stanwix and is besieging it. Since it is impossible for me to advance, on account of want of provisions, I design Lieutenant Colonel Baum's march to attract the attention of the enemy to his right wing, and thus prevent him from sending succor to Fort Stanwix."

This answer from my commanding general, as a matter of course, prevented me from replying, and thus the conversation ended.

On the 2d of August, I went into camp at Fort Edward with the left wing. Upon reporting myself to General Burgoyne, he laid before me orally his ideas of the manner in which Baum should carry out his expedition, at the same time requesting me to draw up an order and lay it before him for revision. This document is here inclosed, marked B.[2] In speaking of this order in the lower house, Major Kingston said it contains the sentiments of General Riedesel. General Burgoyne also quotes it in his treatise on half of a page, with his remarks opposite, under the title of *his amendments.*

---

[1] This is the reading of this sentence in the German text. In another draft, however, of this same letter written by Riedesel in French and signed by him, which I procured in Germany and which is now before me, the reading which is slightly different, is as follows: "Thereupon, I took the liberty to reply as follows: that it ought to be determined whether Baum should make an excursion in the vicinity for the purpose of taking from the inhabitants their horses, oxen and teams, or whether he should give battle to the enemy; that, in the first case (which was always my idea), I believe the march to Manchester would be too far; that the enemy would, without doubt, detach from Albany a corps against him, and thus defeat his design; but that if Baum assumed the offensive against Warner, that I would say nothing against it."— *Translator.*

[2] Max Van Eelking in a note in the original, states that "this document cannot be found." I am, however, the guilty cause of his not finding it, as I myself found

I cannot deny that I was the one who wrote this order, in the same way, for instance, as an adjutant writes the order of his general; but

it when in Germany, and, with the permission of its owner, carried it with me to America. It is now before me, and reads as follows:

"B.

"*Statement of Instructions given to Lieutenant Colonel Baum for his Guidance in the Expedition that he is to command.*

"The design of this expedition is to sound the sentiments of the inhabitants, to mount the regiment of dragoons, and to furnish the army with horses, oxen and teams. Colonel Baum is to take the route to Arlington, Manchester and Rockingham, making a halt at each of those places, and from Manchester he is to send detachments of savages and provincials to the head of the Connecticut river, even as far as No. Four.

"From Manchester, he will continue his route as far as Rockingham, where he will post himself.

"The lieutenant colonel, with his regular troops, is not to pass beyond Rockingham. He is to take up in that place the most advantageous position. All the oxen, horses and teams are to be sent to the army by the provincials well escorted. After the design of the expedition has been accomplished, he will take the most direct road, by way of Brattlebury, to Albany, to join the main body of the army at that place.

"At every place through which he passes, he is to make the inhabitants believe that the corps, which he commands, is the advance guard of the army which is on its way to Boston, and which is to be joined at Springfield by a body of troops from Rhode island.

"In case that the main army has not arrived in Albany by the time that the lieutenant colonel has accomplished his object, General Burgoyne will give him advice, and recall him to the army when he will give him and his corps another route.

"The lieutenant colonel will give from time to time intelligence of his position, and what he has accomplished.

"In case of the enemy combining against Lieutanant Colonel Baum in too great force, General Burgoyne will not fail to send him the most prompt succor, and will make such a movement that the enemy will find himself between two fires.

"VOILA, in general the nature of the instructions given to Lieutenant Colonel Baum. The change afterward made in his route, was caused by the report of Colonel Skeene who gave Burgoyne information to the effect that the enemy had a very large magazine of supplies at Bennington, and that it would be a very easy matter to surprise and capture it.

"Lieutenant Colonel Baum was sent from his camp at the Battenkill on the right toward Bennington.

"The rebels having sent large reenforcements to that place, the lieutenant colonel was not able (with his small number), to resist the efforts of an enemy who had, at least, ten times his force. The misfortunes which resulted are only too well known.

"*Number of Troops who were employed upon this Expedition.*

	MEN.
Regiment of dragoons,	200
Indians,	100
The corps of Peters,	150
Provincial and Canadian volunteers,	56
Company of Frazer,	50
Total,	556

that they were not my own sentiments is proved by the memoir which I have already alluded to.[1]

I handed the order, drawn up in this manner, to General Burgoyne. He put it in his pocket and said he would read it and then talk to me more about it. On the next day, he came to my tent and brought me the sketch again with the added alterations, which are the same that he calls *his amendment* in his *Treaties*.[2] This order was corrected in accordance with his amendments, and General Burgoyne received an English translation thereof, while Lieutenant Colonel Baum received the original; and this is all I had to do with the whole matter.

There were a great many difficulties connected with the carrying out of the expedition; it was not easy to procure the requisite quota from the corps of Brigadier Frazer; the Indians could not be induced to march; and horses were needed for the transportation of the necessary articles. Thus a few more days passed away.

Meanwhile, General Burgoyne heard of the magazine at Bennington. Thereupon he rode himself into the camp of Lieutenant Colonel Baum, and gave him the oral order not to march to Manchester, but direct to Bennington. With this order Baum marched at once without my seeing him again. Then came the misfortune which is known to the world.

Upon Lieutenant Colonel Baum making his report to the effect that he was opposite the Battenkill and waited for further orders, General Burgoyne sent his adjutant, Clarke, to me in the night, and requested me to order Lieutenant Colonel Breymann to march at once to the relief of Colonel Baum. I replied, that I considered the situation of the latter as very dangerous, and that I thought it much more advisable to order him back again half way to meet Breymann, when he could act as circumstances might dictate. In truth, I did not like to have anything to do with the matter, and, therefore, sent Captain Gerlach to General Burgoyne in order that the necessary orders might be carried directly from that general to Breymann.

" These different corps not being sufficiently strong, General Riedesel added to it 25 chasseurs and 75 other German soldiers.

"RIEDESEL."

The above is the document or letter B referred to by Riedesel, as being inclosed in his letter to Duke Charles. Writing from memory, Riedesel was only able to give an abstract of it. The one in the *State of the Expedition* is fuller, and on account of its importance is copied into this volume.— *Translator.*

[1] In the original draft in French, to which I have alluded in a note or two back, the expression is even stronger. It reads, " but I protest that they were never my own ideas; indeed, the objections I had made before, proves the contrary."— *Translator.*

[2] I. e., *The State of the Expedition.— Translator.*

This is all that I had to do with this Bennington expedition; and I now leave it to any military man if I can with truth be called the author of this expedition.[1]

---

[1] In the French draft of this letter, the last paragraphs are much more in detail; and I am inclined to believe the most trustworthy, from the fact that my copy (the French draft), is signed by Riedesel himself, whereas the one in the text has no signature. Beginning at the paragraph which commences with the sentence, "meanwhile, General Burgoyne heard of the magazine at Bennington," etc., the French draft reads as follows:

"Meanwhile, General Burgoyne was told by a certain provincial captain, named Sherwood, that the enemy had established a considerable magazine at Bennington which was very poorly (lightly, *legérement*) guarded. Seduced by this news, which Captain Sherwood said had been intimated to him by Colonel Skeene, General Burgoyne rode on horseback into the camp of Lieutenant Colonel Baum, and gave him verbally the order not to go to Manchester, but to march directly for Bennington. With this order, Lieutenant Colonel Baum set out on his march, without my ever seeing him after.

"The misfortunes which happened to him and his corps are only too well known by my exact and faithful reports from John's farm.

"Lieutenant Colonel Baum anticipating very soon a serious resistance from the enemy did not fail to make a regular report of this to General Burgoyne. He told him that 2,000 of the enemy were assembled at Bennington, and he prayed him to reenforce him, that he might be able either to sustain his position, or attack the enemy at Bennington according to circumstances. On receiving this report, General Burgoyne sent his aid de camp, Sir Francis Clarke, to me in the night and requested me to order Lieutenant Colonel Breymann immediately to reenforce Lieutenant Colonel Baum, and having united with him, be prepared either to sustain an attack from, or attack the enemy. My reply to Sir Francis Clarke was, that I considered the situation of Lieutenant Colonel Baum very precarious, and that my advice would be to order Lieutenant Colonel Baum to retire half way back and join the corps of Lieutenant Colonel Breymann, and, afterwards, to act together according to circumstances, that, for this reason, I would prefer that General Burgoyne should dispense with me entirely in this affair; and that I would send Captain Gerlach to General Burgoyne that he might send by him such orders to Lieutenant Colonel Breymann as he might deem the most fitting.

"This, my lord, is the true statement of all the agency I had in this expedition to Bennington; and I leave myself entirely to the judgment of military connoisseurs, to determine whether they believe me to be the author of the expedition to Bennington.

"I am, with the greatest devotion to your most serene highness,

"Your most humble, and obedient

"and faithful servant,

"R."

"New York island, the 3d September, 1780."

CHARLES WILLIAM FERDINAND[1] TO GENERAL RIEDESEL.

BRUNSWICK, *January* 5, 1781.

Highly Honored Major General:

The explanations which your honor has given me respecting Bennington and Saratoga, although very valuable to me, were not necessary for your justification. The people have done you ample justice; and I, for my part, have not expected anything else as I am pretty well acquainted with the actors in those events.

Since the loss of my father, all my efforts have been bent upon the reconstruction of this country: and I flatter myself not entirely without success. I hope to be able in a short time to resign the command of the Prussian regiment which was intrusted to me, that I may devote myself solely to my new duties, which, of course, removes me entirely from military matters. Your honor will find me to be a real country gentleman, living only for his farm and the education of his children, and shunning everything that does not come within this province. It is really no small good fortune to be able to escape from this stormy world. I feel this, and know, therefore, how to appreciate my good luck. May Heaven give you perfect health, and bring you back to us when peace is finally made. Friendship and esteem will meet you here.

Filled with such sentiments, I have the honor of being always,

Your honor's

Most faithful friend and servant.

CHARLES WILLIAM FERDINAND,

Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg.

GENERAL RIEDESEL TO THE HEREDITARY PRINCE.

CAMBRIDGE, *September* 12, 1778.

Most Illustrious Hereditary Prince:

The war between the emperor and his majesty the king, having begun (according to the newspapers which are our only sources of news from Europe), and as your highness commands one of the strongest corps in the Prussian army, I congratulate you, thereupon

[1] The former hereditary prince, but now full duke by his father's death.— *Translator.*

most humbly, knowing that the wishes of your highness are now fulfilled.[1]

Your highness has now an opportunity of once more showing your great talents, and of rendering many services to a monarch, who, by his publicly expressed regards for you, has reechoed the sentiments of the public.[2]

How delighted would I be if I could engage in this war under your highness. I would gladly be your very last adjutant. What a difference between a war there, and here, where unfavorable territory, want of everything, and ignorance on the part of the leaders frustrate all expeditions, and will not consider the character of the people against whom we are fighting. All that you have predicted in regard to it is true, and has, alas, taken place; and I now see clearly that the conquering of this nation by force of arms is and will be a problem which cannot be solved, unless divisions among the colonies, quarrels with the French (against whom they cherish a great hatred), want of resources, and the policy of the English commissioners, solves it.

I will not trouble you, who are now engaged in such important business, with complaints in regard to our still being unexchanged, with a narration of the hostile operations here, nor with an account of the bad situation in which the troops of your highness find themselves at present. I am convinced that his serene highness, the duke, will communicate to you my reports to him, in which I give everything in detail. I only desire to commend myself and the whole corps — the conduct of whom both in good and bad fortune has been extremely good — to the gracious consideration of your highness, and to pray for your gracious protection in case we should need it.

The public testimonial which General Burgoyne has given in his speech before parliament, and his public declaration that no blame attaches to the troops for the failure of his expedition, is, I hope, an honor to the troops. If the period which is to decide our fate was only at hand now, and if these troops only had an opportunity for avenging the calamity they have endured, I should rest content.

I am, etc.,

RIEDESEL.

[1] This is the Bavarian war, produced by the succession to the throne, and lasted one year. It is jocosely called the Potato war. It amounted to very little.

[2] Frederick the Great had written an ode upon the hereditary prince of Brunswick.

A FEW LETTERS AND ORDERS OF GENERAL BURGOYNE TO GENERAL RIEDESEL, WHILE ON THE MARCH TO SARATOGA.

ON THE BOUQUET RIVER, *June* 24, 1777.

My Dear General:

It is my intention to have the army march from here to Crown point in making a movement, which will allow a rest of two or three hours on the march.

You will, therefore, have the goodness to see that the troops take down the tents (if the weather will permit it), and endeavor to reach Crown point before two o'clock to-morrow. But in case there should be too much wind for the enemy to cross at the proper moment, you will remain until a more favorable opportunity, taking care, however, not to arrive in the night.

I have the honor with respect, and esteem, to sign myself,

Your most faithful and obedient servant,

J. BURGOYNE.

To Major General Von Riedesel.

IN CAMP NEAR TICONDEROGA, *July* 1, 1777.

I beg you to order the reserve corps of the left wing to remain in the woods during the day; but on the approach of night, to occupy the house in front of them on the clearing near the river with a captain and a proportionate detachment. The yägers will advance, and the post of the captain will serve as a support, while the troops of Lieutenant Colonel Breymann will be on the left wing of its position.

The reserve corps will be supported by the fire from the ships in case of an attack. You will, also, please embark the left wing, in order to support it in case the engagement proves a severe one.

I have the honor, etc.,

J. BURGOYNE.

July 4, 1777.

My Dear Sir:

I have this moment received the letter, with which you have honored me, and also the report of Lieutenant Colonel Breymann.

The strong picket, at the foot of the mountain, is evidence that the post of Breymann causes some uneasiness to the enemy. I do not believe that the latter will *think* of continuing his cannon fire, either from one side or the other, after seeing the result.

Our men work diligently on the roads designed as a communication for the right wing. I am very sure that the same work progresses under your command, on the left wing, with the greatest possible expedition.

The savages, who should have passed before daybreak, did not march by till about seven o'clock. Captain Frazer very likely marched by without halting, in order to reach the rendezvous which was designated for eight o'clock at a distance of two miles beyond. This appears probable. He ought, however, to have united himself to us.

I do not know whether I shall be able to visit the left wing to-day or not.

I have, etc.,
J. BURGOYNE.

SKEENESBOROUGH, *July* 7, 1777.

I arrived here yesterday in season to attack the manned ships of the enemy which cover his retreat. He had only five, two of which were taken, and the rest burned and blown up. A great part of their baggage and ammunition is in our possession. His army is cut in two. The New England provincials have left for home in the greatest disorder. The others have turned toward Fort George, where they intend to await General Putnam with an army of 5,000 men. It is my opinion that the army of Ticonderoga is entirely annihilated, as it is in want of all the materials for support and defense.

You will have the kindness to go into a "camp of rest" with the troops of the left wing, either on Mount Independence or in its vicinity, and there remain until I have completed my arrangements for the continuation of our advance. If you find means for forwarding our provisions, I wish Breymann's corps to be stationed within a few miles of barrack Independence, on the main road to Ticonderoga near No. 4, to support operations in that direction, and facilitate communication *des bien effectives*.

You will have the goodness to distribute manifestoes and issue strict orders for the prevention of plundering or otherwise injuring the inhabitants.

You will hear again from me in a short time. Till then

I have, etc.,
J. BURGOYNE.

P. S. The corps of General Frazer has orders to remain in Ticonderoga until gunboats and other vessels can be placed on Lake George.

CAMP AT SKENESBOROUGH, *July* 8, 1777.

I had the honor of writing you this morning. Since then I have received a letter from General Frazer, which informs me of your intention of marching to-morrow. Your ships and tents are at present here; and I suppose that you intend marching, in spite of the different opinions I have had upon the weather, with a view of joining me at this place. It is now my wish (since, by the retreat of the enemy to No. 4, communication is open) to unite as far as possible, the whole strength on this side. I beg that you will leave a sufficient guard for the wounded until they can be carried to Ticonderoga. You will, if possible, supply the guard with enough provisions to last one or two days; and means will have to be found to supply them afterwards. The guard will soon be released by another corps.

I have, etc.,

J. BURGOYNE.

Instructions for Major General Von Riedesel.

HEAD QUARTERS, SKEENESBOROUGH HOUSE, *July* 10, 1777.

Dear Sir:

The reason for the movement of the left wing is to prevent any communication between No. 4 and Albany by way of Castletown, to afford protection to the loyal inhabitants, to frighten the disloyal, and to protect the hospital at Huberton.

You will, therefore, have the goodness to take your position on the Castletown river, and send the corps of Lieutenant Colonel Breymann to the opposite side, where is the junction of the roads to Poultney and Rupert.

The Hesse Hanau regiment will occupy the height of East Creek post, near the landing place, in order to secure this communication.

After taking up this position, I desire you to use all means to encourage the inhabitants. You will offer them the protection of the king by placing sentinels in front of the houses and possessions of those who are known to be loyal, and by saving those houses which are empty until you receive further instructions, as I intend to appoint a certain time for the guilty ones to return, before resorting to military executions.

I would also request you to punish soldiers or others under your command, who may be found guilty of plundering or otherwise abusing the inhabitants.

I have the honor, etc.,

J. BURGOYNE.

HEAD QUARTERS AT SKEENESBOROUGH, *July* 18, 1777.

I beg you will excuse my not having replied to your last two letters; but I have been very much hurried in finishing my dispatches to the court.

Your proposition to make a movement with your corps is entirely in accordance with my wishes, and shows, in all its parts, the talents which you possess. The state of the weather, however, prevents me from making use of them, as there is danger of too greatly fatiguing your troops.

It will be necessary to advance soon with the whole army. I am only waiting for the roads to be in a proper condition.

I hope you will observe strict order in sending the baggage back to Ticonderoga. The baggage of the British officers has already been sent back, and some have only a small tent and a knapsack left. In the end, it is really the best thing for the officers to be particular upon this point.

I have ordered the distribution of horses among the artillery. The remainder will then be portioned out to the troops. But their number is as yet insufficient to carry the tents of the soldiers.

The inhabitants of your neighborhood give as an excuse for not bringing in cattle, that they were engaged in the service of your camp. I would be very much obliged to you if you would report to me the number of oxen, horses and wagons actually employed (including the Hanau regiment), that I may punish those who tell me falsehoods.

We are at present engaged in transforming the new corps of provincials into regular troops. It is necessary for Mr. Sherwood to return with all his people as soon as possible, that their names may be placed upon the register and that other matters in regard to their enlistment may be settled.

I have ordered four dozen bottles of port wine and the same quantity of madeira to be sent you. I am sorry that the present condition of my cellar does not allow me to send you a larger quantity and a better kind.

I have, etc.,
J. BURGOYNE.

SKEENESBOROUGH, *July* 23, 1777.

I returned yesterday from my excursion of two days — which I spent in reconnoitering Fort Anp and the country of the enemy — too late to reply to the two letters of the 21st with which you honored me.

The blocking up of the roads which the enemy have endeavored every where to destroy, forced me to postpone for one day the united movement and make a few alterations in the arrangement. The corps of Frazer marched to-day. The right wing will follow the day after to-morrow (the 25th); and you will have the goodness to have the left wing occupy the same territory on which it encamped near Skeensborough. It is left to you, sir, either, for the accommodation of your troops, to march to-morrow to Castletown, or to make the whole distance in one day, or further — if you find it advisable — to embark your troops or part of them on East creek, according to the number and accommodation of your ships. It will be necessary to continue the march of the left wing on the 25th; and it is left to your own judgment whether it would not be less fatiguing for the troops to bivouack during the night of the 25th than for them to transport their tents from the ships to the camp-ground only to re-embark them again on the next morning.

By having the army thus march in divisions as far as Fort Ann, I shall prevent the confusion which the large number of ships would cause in the narrow passage of the creek.

The enemy are in considerable force at Fort Edward, and appear to await us there. I very much doubt it: still, it will be necessary to take measures to advance against this position with sufficient force, and in such marching order that a line of battle can quickly be formed.

Please bring with you all the wagons and teams you have and can muster, for which you will give the owners certificates.

I will leave the other matters until I have the honor of seeing you. In the meantime, I remain with the greatest esteem,

J. BURGOYNE.

P. S. The enemy had the audacity to push forward a patrol of thirty-four men a quarter of a mile beyond Fort Ann. A deserter brought this news. A portion of our Indians, who had lately arrived, were quickly dispatched after them, and succeeded in capturing a captain and eighteen men; the rest were either killed or scattered. I believe this will be a good lesson to them. This letter will serve in the place of orders for your march to Skeensborough without my sending you a general order.

CAMP NEAR SARATOGA, *August* 13, 1777,
10½ o'clock in the morning.

Being desirous of not retarding your march this morning, I kept the details of this plan, intending to have it follow you.

Mr. Baum reports to me that the enemy number 1,800 men, and that he, therefore, could not carry out the projected plan. He also states that he is at present attacked, and expects reenforcements.

Confiding in the talents of this officer, I am convinced that you will find him at his post; and it depends on you — according to what you may learn from the enemy — either to make a new attack or to call back the detachment.

The main thing is to arrange the retreat (if it be unavoidable), in such a manner as to give the enemy no chance to triumph over us, and no cause for discouragement to the Indians. To prevent this, all the animals and wagons, captured by the troops, must be kept. It would also, be very desirable to have the flour and corn taken away; but since we have no means for doing this, they will have to be burned.

Please report to me all that takes place.

I have, etc.,
J. BURGOYNE.

August 25.

I have had the honor of receiving your three letters, and have thoroughly considered the report of Colonel Breymann. Nothing can be said against the troops in regard to bravery. It is certain that the march of Mr. Breymann was very slow. It would have been better if he had left his artillery behind to follow after him under an escort, than to have delayed reenforcing the troops.

Mr. Skene insists that it was impossible for Lieutenant Colonel Breymann not to have known of the encounter of Baum, since two or three officers, who had witnessed it, were with him in the mill. Skene, however, says, that he himself knew nothing of the affair.

It is also certain that the gunners fired at too great a distance. Finally, I consider it necessary to inclose the following order in the general instructions, which I communicate to you before it is published, on account of the attention I owe you. I will wait until you honor me with your answer.

You will find that there are to-day more wagons for the transportation of articles to Fort Ann. I am very impatient and anxious to have the provisions with us for the march against the enemy. The moment is a decisive one; and with your keen perception you will readily see that our communication with Fort Ann is too extended and too much exposed for us to depend on being supplied much longer, when our army shall have advanced a little further. Consider, also, that it will be necessary to leave all the wagons at

Stillwater, and that all transportation from Fort Ann will then cease. I say all this to you in confidence; and you will keep it secret. It has been reported to me that wagons are to come from Fort George. Orders will be given that the wagons, you mention, shall be furnished to Breymann's corps.

Will you have the kindness to send hither to-morrow a troop of six or eight dragoons. I expect to have about ten horses which you may have to enable you to begin the mounting of your *escadron;* and I will try in every way to complete it.

Your letter to Baum I will send into the enemy's lines by a drummer.

I have, etc.,
J. BURGOYNE.

August 26, 1777.

I had the honor of writing you last night, and informing you that I had received the intelligence that a strong patrol of the enemy — about 200 men — have marched against Fort Ann, and requesting you to send a sufficient escort from your post with carts in case enough of them should arrive.

I sent the letter by a courier, who, I fear, has lost his way in the dark. I therefore, send Lieutenant Wilford with this one, though I confess that I shall not be at ease until I receive an answer to this letter. A failure would not only be a mortification, but detrimental for the future transportation of supplies. I feel assured that all the carts we possess, are engaged for this purpose.

If I am right in this latter conjecture, then the measures of those who sent them from Fort Edward were well meant, but this was not my order.

If a sufficient escort, under an officer, who carefully covers his flanks and front to guard against surprise (for the chief talents of an army should be directed to this end), has marched, then send Mr. Wilford back at once with the intelligence.

But in either case, I request you to send an officer in advance to prevent any delay of the teams on so dangerous a road. The severe rain has very likely made the travel extremely difficult; and it would, therefore, be better to put on the carts only half of a load (leaving the rest in the woods), than to have them stick fast in the mud and the horses driven away.

I wish when you arrive, you would retain sufficient provisions to last your corps six days, and send the balance to Fort Edward. If the condition of the roads renders it practicable, and nothing is seen

of the enemy, then the few teams that have started can keep on. But the carts I would not like to venture on another route. It is better to leave the rest behind.

Should it be necessary to partly unload the carts, then by all means do not take off the flour, but carry it as far as possible.

I have, etc.,
J. BURGOYNE.

P. S. Just as I am closing this letter, my courier arrives. Nevertheless, I send Mr. Wilford, as I still think that it will be better, as the roads are so bad, not to have the carts return for a second load.

August 31, 1777.

I beg you to accept my apology for not sooner answering the letter with which you honored me on the 29th.

Regarding Fort George, it is my intention to leave there four companies of the 47th Regiment, two of which will occupy the fort, and the remainder the island three miles distant from the land.[1] I take it for granted that the fort is safe against any surprise, no matter how strong the attacking party may be. In case of an assault, the garrison can still retreat through the open ditch, to the island,[2] whither the enemy can never go, being destitute of ships, while we, on the contrary, have gunboats.

The island will, also, be a place in which to keep valuables; and the officer, who remains there to command the four companies, will be instructed to carry out this order.

I beg that you will have the guard for your baggage as small as possible. I will order the English regiments to do the same. In this way, we shall approach the enemy as strong as is in our power.

It will not be advisable to have guards (posts) between Fort George and the army. Communication will, therefore, be very hazardous. In order to neutralize this, however, I am now engaged in having a transportable magazine built, which will be ready in a very few days. As soon as this is completed, your corps will at once join the army.[3]

I am also endeavoring to procure horses, both for mounting the dragoons, and for the transportation service.

---

[1] Meaning doubtless the landing, or the south shore of the lake. The lake in no place is three miles in width.— *Translator.*

[2] The idea of course is, that the garrison can retreat to *the lake*, and thence to the island.— *Translator.*

[3] Riedesel was stationed at this time at John's farm, four miles from the lake.— *Translator.*

I have just this moment heard a rumor which gives me much uneasiness. It is said that several ships (some fifty), are still between Fort Ann and Skenesborough. If this rumor is true, then Major ——— (?) made a great mistake in leaving his post without first allowing them to pass. I beg you, my dear sir, to send an escort with Captain Harrington, who has the honor of carrying this letter to you, and who is to investigate this matter. It seems to me, that this may be productive of disagreeable consequences, nothing short of furnishing the means to the enemy of reaching Super-Hill near Ticonderoga by the South river,[1] and of alarming our guard at the portage. Therefore, in case the ships are of any number, and in sufficiently good condition to be transported, and the country is clear of the enemy, let them be brought through Skeensborough to Ticonderoga by a skillful manœuvre of the two companies of the 47th, whose province it will be to garrison the island. You will please give them their orders in conformity with the report of Captain Harrington. In case, however, the number of the ships are too small, I desire to have them burned or destroyed. I have, etc,

J. BURGOYNE.

P. S. Please present my compliments to the baroness, and my readiness to serve her in any way when you march. I foresee great fatigues for a lady. B.

[Secret and confidential.]

September 10, 1777.

The last orders have been given to have nothing remain in Fort George. The last of the wagons will accordingly pass Fort Edward either to-morrow evening or Friday morning; and you will then be able to march with all the troops that are now with you.

General Gates, having considered it best to reoccupy the position at Stillwater, I desire to contract my front somewhat before crossing the river. I have, therefore, postponed the advance of Frazer's and Breymann's corps until to-morrow. As everything is on the retrograde, and the ships are loading with provisions, this postponement involves no loss of time.

I have, my dear general, to intrust a little matter to your care, during your stay at Fort Edward.[2] I desire to have two ships, with their oars, buried as quietly as possible. It would, also, be well to

[1] South creek.

[2] Riedesel had now moved down to Fort Edward.

shovel earth upon them; and to give them still more the appearance of graves, a cross might be placed upon each hillock. All this must be done in the night, and only by trustworthy soldiers. The teamsters cannot be relied on.

The use for which these ships are intended, is to help Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger in crossing the river, in case of circumstances forcing him to march without his ships.[1] This officer has been forced by the bad conduct of the Indians, to retreat on the road to Oswego. He has, however, accomplished this without loss, and is now on his march to the army. I have sent him orders as to the necessary measures of precaution he is to take upon arriving on the island at the lower end[2] of Lake George. If he finds that the enemy are not in the vicinity of the road leading to the army, and he can keep the march of twenty-four men a secret, he is to cross the river near Fort Edward, at the same time notifying me, in advance, of his movement, that I may be able to facilitate it from my side. I have told him where he will find the ships, viz: *inside of Fort Edward.*

I have given orders to Brigadier General Powell to have your reserves cross at the same time with Colonel St. Leger, and to leave those only behind that belong to the regiment of Prince Frederick. If you have any special orders to give your officer, you may send your letter by the officer who has the honor of taking this to you.

Respectfully, etc.,

J. BURGOYNE.

MISCELLANEOUS EXTRACTS FROM RIEDESEL'S JOURNAL.

Arrival of the First Brunswick Division in America.

On the morning of the 25th of May, 1776, on waking, we found ourselves fourteen or fifteen leagues from Cape Catt near the Cammel mountains. By ten o'clock we had a most favorable east wind, which would, as Captain Bell (our captain) assured us, bring us the same evening to the Isle Pic. Although the weather was stormy, the wind continued favorable. Finally, at three in the afternoon we came in sight of the longed for Isle Pic. The frigate Juno gave the signal to cast anchors at seven and a half o'clock. All the captains of the different transports were then ordered to go aboard the Juno, and every one expected, as a matter of course, that they would there procure their pilots; especially, since we had met the frigate Surprise (under

---

[1] Ships (*schiffe*) in the original. They were, of course, *boats.*— *Translator.*

[2] The expression in the original is "auf der im *hinteren* ende." The island, however, here meant, must be the fortified one at the *head* of the lake.— *Translator.*

Captain Lincee) near the island. The latter had lain there several days waiting for us. But on the return of our captain to the Pallas we were informed that the fleet, with the Irish regiments, had arrived the day before, and had taken all the pilots.

Captain Dalrimple, in the meantime, resolved to venture it without a pilot, and continue on to Quebec as soon as a favorable wind would allow. In the middle of the night there arose a sudden blast, which forced us to cast out a second anchor; and, as it was, several of the ships were torn loose from their moorings. This was, also, the more dangerous as the water at this place was full of rocks.

On the 16th we had the finest weather, but owing to the wind being contrary, were obliged to continue at anchor. In the afternoon, General Riedesel availed himself of this delay to pay a visit to General Burgoyne, on board the Blonde. On this occasion he went ashore on the Isle Pic distant about 1,300 paces from the ship.

This island is surrounded by rocks, and the approach of the vessels was thereby very much endangered. All kinds of shells and the skeletons of whales were found on the shore. Among the various kinds of trees were the pine and the birch. The smell of the former is a great deal stronger here than in the north of Germany. The soil was covered by all kinds of herbs and plants, some of which we were familiar with. The atmosphere here was altogether warmer and of a better quality than that on board the ship. But few families have settled here, and those belong to pilots. Pilots are also sent here from Quebec when necessary. General Riedesel met General Burgoyne on board of the Blonde. The latter was in the act of leaving the ship to go on board the Surprise preparatory to sailing in advance to Quebec, whither he desired to proceed to arrange matters there for the troops as Carleton had left that city in pursuit of the enemy. At eight in the evening, thirteen guns thundered from the Blonde, as Burgoyne left that ship and embarked on the Surprise.

At twelve at night, the anchors were hoisted, and the voyage was continued on the 27th under a favorable wind. We kept very near the right or southern bank of the river, passing close to Cap à l'Original, afterward Road island, which is at the mouth of the Sageyney river. On the shore we saw here and there a settlement of colonists. About ten we passed Green island, and saw at a distance a most magnificent waterfall. After passing this island, we could overlook a great portion of the southern shore of the river, with its houses and farms, very pleasing to the eye, and especially to our eyes, as we had not seen the like in a long time. The left or northern shore was at this point not cultivated, for the high mountains come down to the water's edge. Our Englishmen assured us that the side beyond the

mountains was better cultivated than even the south side, and that there was actually a good road leading to Quebec.

Toward noon we approached more toward the northern shore and passed Hare island, so named from the large numbers of that animal found in it. The hares of Canada are white in winter and their natural color in summer. The water here is yet saline and is fifty fathoms deep. At five o'clock we saw a nice little village on the southern shore, which numbered about fifty houses, including a church. This village was thought to be La Bouteillerie. On this day we reached Kamaraska islands, and cast anchor between them and the Mal-Bai at eight o'clock. Thus Cape Gose was in front of us. On this day we made twenty-six leagues.

Anchors were weighed at eight on the morning of the 28th. The weather was clear, and the wind favorable. We saw a great many porpoises playing in the water. Judging from their color, they are a different species from the ones we saw at sea, for those were white while these are grey. The white porpoises are said to exist only in the St. Lawrence and the Bay of Finnland. During this day's voyage we saw both shores strewn with settlements, some of which were surrounded by large tracts of cleared land.

At twelve M. we came in sight of the Island Aux Coudres. This island was designated as the general rendezvous for all the ships that were driven out of their course. The shores, as well the channel of the river, are here full of rocks and cliffs; and it is, therefore, impossible to get along without a pilot. We accordingly cast anchor.

At the expiration of an hour pilots came on board from the island, and conducted some of our ships (among them the Pallas) to another anchorage. This was between the north side of the Isle aux Coudres and the left shore of the river. It was just at low tide, and the current of the water was so strong, that the ships had to be pulled along by row boats. From the pilots we ascertained that the fleet with the English regiments had passed the island the Sunday previous, and that it had taken with it all the other pilots. They are, however, expected back this day.

It was two o'clock when we cast anchor for the second time, having made sixteen leagues from the Isle of Kamaraska. A curious accident occurred on our first casting anchor, which came very near resulting in the destruction of the Pallas and the Apollo. The captains of these two vessels accidentally cast anchor at one and the same time. The consequence was that the anchors and ropes became so entangled that the two ships were in the very act of coming into collision. We did not notice the danger until the crews of the other ships by great outcries drew our attention to the danger, at the same

time sending, in all haste, their boats, with a view of saving as many lives as possible. At first our sailors seemed to be at a loss what to do. The steersman left his rudder, not knowing what the matter was, and fearing to make things worse by turning the ships. But this confusion happened only during the first moments. Captain Haynes very soon got to work himself. He ordered Captain Bell to be ready to cut the cable; and at the very moment when a collision appeared likely, Captain Foy ran to the wheel, and gave the Pallas so skillful a turn that both ships passed each other safely; their cables disentangled themselves; and no other damage was done, except the tearing of some of the sails and the breaking of a few of the spars.

In the afternoon Captain Haynes sent to the Isle aux Coudres for all the rest of the pilots to bring up the ships left behind. Five were found, and these were distributed among the vessels. At four in the afternoon the pilots who had taken the English regiments to Quebec, returned in two vessels; and there was now no scarcity in the article of pilots. It was just then low tide; the wind was unfavorable; and it was therefore determined that the ships should lie at anchor. Meanwhile, as the weather was beautiful, General Riedesel went on shore to see the island.

The base of it consists of nothing but useless slate-stone rocks which reach out of the water on all sides. The island is three leagues long, with a circumference of from six to seven leagues. It contains about three hundred inhabitants who live in sixty-five dwellings. It belongs to the bishop at Quebec, to whom the inhabitants pay a yearly sum at the rate of one shilling for each acre of land. Those who settled here eighty years ago are all French and Catholics, like all the rest of the Canadians. The island, otherwise, is under the protection of the governor of the province Quebec, who appoints for the inhabitants three officers taken from among them. A new one is elected each year, the oldest one in office giving place to the person newly elected. Thus each hold office for three years.

On the east and north side where we disembarked, we found the newest settlements, which are scattered here and there. On the south and west side are the oldest settlements. These latter form a village with a church, called La Balaine. The atmosphere here must be very healthy, since we had mentioned and shown to us many old people who had emigrated to the island with their parents eighty years ago. The number of aged people far exceeds the proportion of old people in Europe.

Here we saw for the first time the Canadian costume. This is, among the men, somewhat in the same style as the dress of the Indians. Without being artificial, it is in correspondence with the

climate. Over their shirts, which are frequently made of colored linen or of printed calico, they wear small waistcoats of different stuffs according to the season of the year. Over this, again, they wear a long jacket of white woolen cloth reaching down to their knees. This is ornamented with all kinds of colored ribbons, which serve the place of buttons. Around the waist they wear scarfs, which keeps the waistcoat or capote (as they style it), close together. This scarf is made of different colored yarn, and makes quite a display. In the winter they wear longer capotes of cloth, or the skins of the porpoise, which they understand perfectly how to prepare for this purpose, having learned it from the Indians. Pantaloons are worn by all the men summer and winter, with the exception of those who go about a great deal with the savages. But even these use ties or aprons, in order not to offend delicacy. They clothe their legs with a sort of leggins, called in the Indian language mitas. They are worn inside their shoes, reach half way up to the thigh, and are put on with the stockings. On the outside, where our splatter-dashes have buttons, is a piece of cloth or fringe, about as broad as a hand, which runs down to the foot and keeps flying round their legs as they walk. This superfluous piece is partly for ornament and partly for use against snakes, who, if not noticed, will generally bite this piece of cloth, leaving their poison in it. For the same reason we shall have the long, wide sailor pants introduced in our army.

The shoes of the Canadian are the real mocas of the Indians, and are, therefore, called *souliers sauvages*. Most every one makes these shoes himself, but the Indians make them the nicest. The ordinary ones are made of the hide of the porpoise and shaped very like a leather tobacco-pouch. They are attached to the foot by leathern thongs below the ankle.

The scarcity of hats causes most every one to wear red woolen caps. Nor, if the Canadian wishes to be *dressed up* will he wear any other color. The aristocracy dress in European style, but in the country they wear their mitas and *souliers sauvages* like every one else. This class, in winter, wear long capotes, canadiens,[1] of white cloth with ribbons, or castor furs over their clothing, and casquets of the most beautiful fur instead of hats. The Canadian ladies dress in French fashion.

We found the houses of the farmers on the Isle aux Coudres, and indeed throughout all Canada, without any pretensions to architectural beauty. They are generally built of long beams, cut square, and laid on top of one another and joined at the corners. The inner

[1] A garment.

walls are covered with boards of cedar or pine. There is little commodiousness in them. The houses throughout Canada are covered with shingles.

Agriculture is carried on in the same manner as with us; but no winter grain can be raised in Canada. They raise wheat, barley, oats, a little Indian corn or maize. Everything is sown in the beginning of May, and harvested after four months. Peas, beans, lentiles, vetches, all kinds of cabbage and onions, and potatoes are also raised. The soil, which seems to be marly on the island, bears abundantly for five consecutive years with a little manure. After that time it is not cultivated for two years.

We found all kinds of European cattle and fowls in abundance.

Of the wild animals, there are many black, grey and red foxes. The black, however, are very scarce owing to their being so much hunted. A high price is paid for these skins at Quebec. Hares, of which there were formerly a great number on the island, have mostly been exterminated by the foxes. There are few deer, except in winter when they cross the ice. In the woods and near the water there are many snipes, etc.; and at times white partridges, many kinds of wild ducks, and wild geese. A species of singing bird attracted our attention, the singing of which is somewhat similar to that of our nightingale, and which are, therefore, called, by the inhabitants, *rossignols du pays*. Their shape and size are very similar to canary birds. In color they are black and yellow.

A small streamlet, which winds its way through the island, furnishes beautiful trout, and other kinds of fish, a few of which we knew.

Of trees we particularly noticed the Canadian cedar. Of this, there are several varieties, all of which have a strong odor. The maple grows here exceedingly high, and is of great use to the inhabitants who make sugar of its sap, which they called *sucre d'erable* or *du pays*. In appearance, it is a brackish yellow. In taste, it is, with the exception of a resinous flavor, like ordinary sugar. A maple tree around which a man can reach his arms, furnishes three pounds of sugar. Some of the people here make from 400 to 500 pounds of sugar on the district of woods assigned to them. This they sell at Quebec for one-half of an English shilling per pound.

There are many white and red *epinettes*[1] in this place. Of the latter kind the Canadian makes a sort of beer, called by the English, sprouts-beer. It is healthy, very refreshing, and, when one has become accustomed to it, good tasting. The twigs and leaves are cooked in

[1] Pines? Was not this beverage the genuine spruce beer, of which, in cities dense, we have the counterfeit? — *Typ.*

water, toasted bread, molasses or syrup being added to sweeten it. Some improve it by boiling it with a quantity of wheat.

The St. Lawrence, which is here still salty, furnishes the inhabitants with flounders, salmon and codfish. There are also, many seals; but their capture is no longer made a business, except so far as their oil is needed on the island. The white porpoises are taken more on account of their skin.

Of wild plants we saw many strawberries, huckleberries, succory, scurvy-grass and wild salad of all kinds. All the trade of this island is carried on with Quebec. To this latter place there were carried last year 1,100 minots of corn at three and one-half shillings, and more than 5,000 pounds of sugar at six-pence. Besides these two chief articles of commerce, the inhabitants sell their superfluous provisions and other articles.

At eight o'clock in the evening of the 28th, we returned again to the Pallas. The tide changed at nine o'clock, and the pilots availed themselves of this opportunity to place the ships on the west side of the island, and there await a favorable wind. This was accomplished by twelve at night, when we cast anchor 2,000 paces from our old position.

Here we remained all of the 29th, on account of contrary winds. On the morning of that day an officer arrived in a pilot boat from Quebec. He brought the news that we were not to stop at all at Quebec, but would proceed at once to Montreal to support General Carleton. He further stated that after the arrival of the 29th English regiment (the first reenforcement), the rebels had at once retreated to Montreal leaving behind four cannon and a great quantity of ammunition. Carleton thereupon went in pursuit, and captured 500 men.

On the 8th, the 47th (Carleton's own regiment), arrived and immediately started on its march from Quebec to Montreal. On the 24th, the fleet, with the Irish regiments, arrived, and also followed the corps of Carleton without delay. An unpleasant piece of intelligence, however, was, also, imparted to us by this officer, viz: that Howe had been forced to evacuate Boston, and had retreated to Halifax. This last report, however, regarding the retreat to Halifax, had not been confirmed.

Between ten and eleven o'clock on the 30th of May the anchors were weighed by order of the pilots; and we continued our voyage among rocks and sand banks without accident, until five and a half in the afternoon, when we reached Cape Tormento, where the so-called traverses begin. The passage at this point is very narrow, difficult and dangerous, unless one pays strict attention to the course of the

vessel. There are two of these traverses, the old and the new one. The wind went down before we reached them, and we cast anchor at eight in the evening after a voyage of three leagues. The Isle of Orleans was now directly before us.

On the morning of the 31st, as soon as the tide changed, we again weighed anchor. Some of the pilots selected the new, and some the old traverse, and some went below both of them, near the Isle de Patience. The wind remained unfavorable; and it being low tide at six in the morning, we cast anchor near St. John's point. Here we remained until two in the afternoon; and while we were waiting, we inspected a large portion of the Island of Orleans with its beautiful tillage.

The whole island is under most excellent cultivation, and is strewn with houses and villages. It is this island from which Quebec draws most of her supplies for housekeeping. Beautiful land and fine cattle are the sources whence the islanders draw their wealth. It is thirteen English miles long, and contains six parishes. It is south-western and lies very close to Quebec.

At two in the afternoon, we continued our voyage until six o'clock with great difficulty; and, indeed, on account of contrary winds, made very little headway. Finally, after making that day in all but six leagues, we cast anchor between St. John's point and Dauphin's point.

At one o'clock in the morning of June 1st, again we started, and continued our voyage until six o'clock. On account, however, of the change in the tide, we were obliged to cast anchor at Laurent point. This latter place is on the Island of Orleans.

At three o'clock P. M., the anchors were hoisted for the last time; and, under a favorable wind, we passed the beautiful waterfall of Montmorency, which filled us all with admiration. Finally, at six in the evening we reached the harbor of Quebec, having made this day, eight leagues.

General Riedesel at once went into the city to pay his respects to General Carleton, and report to him the arrival of the German troops. The latter, since the 30th, had been back at Quebec, having left his corps for the present in charge of General Burgoyne, who was with it near Three Rivers.

Late in the evening Carleton sent one of his adjutants on board our ship, to inquire into the effective strength of the dragoon and Prince Frederick's regiments, the governor having chosen them as part of the garrison at Quebec.

All our ships had now arrived, except the Harmony, on board of which was Lieutenant Colonel Specht and part of the regiment Ried-

esel. Investigation, however, soon revealed the fact that this vessel had arrived at Quebec as early as May 27th, and had been ordered to sail to Three Rivers with the rest of the ships that had arrived. The troops on board of the Harmony were, therefore, the only ones of all the Brunswick troops who afterward took part in the small engagements of the 8th and 9th of June near Three Rivers.

During the night of the 1st of June, all the ships came up that had lagged behind the evening previous. The fleet which we met at Quebec, was, including ours, very numerous. Besides the transports with troops and provisions there were a large number of merchant vessels detained in the harbor on account of the enlisting troubles.

The city of Quebec, which lies for the most part on a high mountain, is not what it once was. The entire west side is fortified, but the fortifications are in a dilapidated state, although an attempt was made last winter and is still making, to put them somewhat in repair as quickly as possible. We found on the walls about 81 iron cannons and a few mortars. These latter had been brought up in all haste from the old frigates, in case they should be needed for the defense of the city. The city numbers at the present time about 1,500 houses, having lately lost 500, which were leveled to the ground by the orders of General Carleton.[1]

Being obliged to go every noon to the head quarters at Quebec to receive our orders, I found an opportunity of inspecting the memorable mountain which the English general, Wolf, ascended in December, 1759, after his capture of the city, and when he, as well as the French general, Montcalm, lost his life. We also saw the spot where the rebel leader, Montgomery, fell, when he vainly attempted to gain a footing at the close of last year with the intention of driving General Carleton out of Quebec.

On the 3d, the frigate *Blonde* left Quebec as the advance guard to Three Rivers and Montreal.

General Carleton's plan for the capture of Montreal was now arranged. In accordance with it the troops were to be distributed and disembarked on both banks of the St. Lawrence in the following manner: The regiment of Prince Frederick and the dragoons, as already stated, were to remain as a garrison for Quebec under Lieutenant Colonel Baum who was made commander of the city. This garrison was to furnish, besides the post in the city, one outpost on the opposite bank of the river at point Levi, to consist of 300 men under a staff officer.

---

[1] This was done by Carleton, because, before the arrival of reenforcements he had not sufficient troops to defend so large a number of houses.

Major General Von Riedesel was to disembark with his corps on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, and march parallel with the English column of the northern shore of that river. The corps of Riedesel consisted of a body of savages and Canadians; the regiment of Colonel McLean (with which General Carleton had defended the city all winter, and which was recently formed of Scotchmen, exiles and Canadians) the grenadier battalion, and the regiments Riedesel and Hesse Hanau. The corps of Carleton, under command of Lieutenant General Burgoyne, and consisting of the 9th, 20th, 21st, 24th, 29th, 31st, 34th, 47th and 62d regiments, and the whole artillery under Major General Phillips, were to disembark on the northern bank of the river, and march directly to Three Rivers and Montreal.

The disembarking of all the troops near Quebec was to take place on the 8th and 9th of June; but the dragoon regiment disembarked as early as the 6th, and went into quarters in the city. The same course would have been pursued with the regiment Prince Frederick, had the barracks, which were designated for it, been ready.

On the morning of the 7th, the horses were taken out of the ship *Martha*, and sent to pasture at Beauport to pick up. Our sick, also, to the number of 20 men, were taken from the vessels, and placed in the hospital at Quebec.

At noon, the chiefs of the wild nations — such as the Abenakis, Iroquois, Outawais and Hurons — were admitted to an interview with General Carleton. He had them all clothed in their costume, and arms given them. They had on their war paint, their eyes being painted red. They had, also, daubed their newly received blankets with red paint to show that they were ready to fight. Some of them had traveled a distance of 450 English miles.

On the 7th, the order suddenly came that, if the wind were favorable, the anchors should be weighed at four in the afternoon, in order to gain as much ground as possible during the two succeeding days. Accordingly, all the ships started at the given time, and cast anchor once more at Cape Rouge, a distance of three leagues from Quebec.

At eight o'clock on the morning of June 8th, the entire fleet again got under way. On both banks there was the most pleasing diversity of beautiful landscape interspersed with many neat settlements. We sailed with a northeast wind about nine leagues, and cast anchor at two o'clock in the afternoon near Cape L'Oisseau. Here we met, besides the frigate *Triton* and our *Blonde*, many transports with English infantry.

Major General Von Riedesel went on board the *Triton* in the hope of obtaining some pilots, as he was anxious to proceed with his corps.

There were not, however, a sufficient number for all the ships; and we were, therefore, obliged to remain here for the present. All the vessels hoisted the blue flag, because that was the color of Captain Lodwidge's flag, and he was an older captain than the one in command of the *Blonde*.

At ten o'clock on the morning of the 9th, the entire fleet again started with a favorable wind. We passed the heights of Dechambeault, where we found the wreck of a rebel ship which had stranded there the year previous.

At ten in the evening, we had the Cape de la Madelaine, on the northern shore, on our right, and Beçancourt, on the southern shore, on our left. Here we received orders to cast anchor, having made seventeen leagues.

At noon of the same day, we received news of the engagements of the 8th and 9th near Three Rivers.

On the morning of the 10th, General Riedesel went to the headquarters at Three Rivers, General Carleton having arrived there the evening of the 8th by the land route. It was then ordered that those of the troops who had been disembarked to take part in the engagement, should at once be reembarked and proceed with the rest. At the parole, it was announced that his majesty had appointed his excellency, Lieutenant General Carleton, captain general and governor of the province of Quebec.

It was also announced that Generals Burgoyne, Riedesel and Phillips, and Lieutenant Colonels Beckwith, Frazer, Powell and Gordon (these last four as brigadier generals) were to serve under him in Canada, as long as his majesty saw fit.

To Brigadier General Frazer, first of all, was given the command of all those troops that could not as yet be disembarked, viz: the savages, Canadians, English grenadiers, the companies of light infantry of all the English regiments in Canada, and the newly formed English regiment McLean.

The left wing was to consist of all the Brunswick regiments, and the regiment Hesse Hanau, under the command of Major General Von Riedesel; but General Burgoyne was to command both wings.

On the morning of the 11th, we advanced with our ships three leagues to Three Rivers. In pursuance of orders, the prisoners, which had been taken on the 8th and 9th, were examined. Most of them were Germans from the province of Pennsylvania. Judging by their uniforms, also, they were soldiers. They belonged to seven different regiments. The wounded of both sides had been carried to the convent of the Ursulines, where these benevolent nuns constantly keep a hospital, and take very good care of the sick.

On the 12th, we had contrary winds all day, obliging us to remain at anchor. General Carleton, however, wished the army — in accordance with the general plan laid down — to commence operations as soon as possible. Accordingly, Riedesel, under an escort of an officer and thirty men, went on shore, and inspected the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, in the vicinity of Riviere de Godefroy, with a view of finding a suitable spot for his troops to encamp on.

He returned on board the *Pallas* at three o'clock on the morning of the 13th, and went thence immediately to General Carleton at Three Rivers to report upon the condition of the southern shore. Scarcely had he entered the boat for the purpose of crossing over, when a splendid breeze sprang up; whereupon the signal to weigh anchors was given. General Riedesel, therefore, returned on board the *Pallas* after we were one league from our anchorage. The ship Elisabeth, from which the escort had been taken, was obliged to send for it, as well as for Captain Gerlach.

We entered Lake St. Pierre with our fleet at eight o'clock, but the wind died away so toward noon that we were again forced to cast anchor. The ships received orders, how to act in case the rebels should attempt any hostile movement. The guns were loaded, strong guards were placed on the decks, and the men were ordered to hail each other every fifteen minutes. In addition, also, to this, the boats of the frigates were obliged to patrol around the ships constantly, and thus keep every one on the alert. The savages and also the Canadians patroled continually in their canoes day and night along both banks of the river. General Carleton was on board the small sloop of war *Martin*, of fourteen guns, under Captain Harway, as large frigates, on account of the depth of water, were now of no further use.

On the 14th, we cautiously continued our voyage (prepared to disembark at a moment's notice) in the following order: First, the sloop of war *Martin* forming the *tête*. Then came 1st, the ships having on board the English light infantry; 2d, a few with the English light artillery; 3d, the English brigades; 4th, the Brunswick and Hessian troops; 5th, the ships with the 2d and 3d English brigades; 6, those with the English artillery; and lastly, the transports containing the provisions. Many canoes filled with savages and Canadians went close to the shores, and reported from time to time concerning the patrols that had been sent ahead in the woods. On this day, Carleton was on board the small frigate *Rousseau*.

The same morning it was ascertained, through the Canadian patrols, that the corps of the rebels — which numbered 1,500 men, and had fortified itself at Sorel — had, upon seeing our ships, evacu-

ated that position the day previous, and fallen back to Fort Chambly. Toward evening we arrived at Sorel, and at once disembarked a portion of the English troops (consisting of Frazer's brigade), to take possession of this post.

On the morning of the 15th, the first English brigade, with a part of the artillery, were also landed at Sorel. It was at first thought that the German corps would likewise be disembarked at this place, as Captain Gerlach was obliged to land on the southern shore early in the morning in order to look at the place designated for us. Carleton, however, changed his mind on this point, and our disembarkation was again postponed. We sailed on this day a few thousand paces beyond Sorel, and cast anchor. According to Carleton's orders the German troops were again to be the cue-stick.[1]

On the 16th it was ascertained that the enemy acted as if he also intended to evacuate Fort Chambly. At three o'clock, in the afternoon, Captain Von Tunderfeld,[2] was sent on board the *Pallas*, with orders that all the troops should be disembarked and furnished with four days' rations. The church in the parish of Bergeres was designated as the rendezvous for all the troops that should land on the southern shore. They were to march there by companies. In fact, all were landed on the south bank, with the exception of the 29th Regiment, which — upon Carleton learning that Montreal had been evacuated by the enemy — was ordered to do garrison duty, for the present, in that city and vicinity.

The disembarking of the troops progressed very slowly, owing to the fact that only the ships' boats could be used for that purpose, the other boats and bateaux, although promised us, not having arrived, and it being impossible to procure others at so short notice. It was, therefore, six o'clock P. M. before all the troops were on shore.

At first, the march — for troops who had been on board the vessel so long — was very fatiguing. Nor was it rendered easier by the heavy rain which fell during the whole of the night's march. The men had to carry their blankets, the weight of which grew heavier every moment by the rain. They marched through the parishes of La Tour and Centre Cœur, and thence to Bergeres, a distance of seven good leagues. General Riedesel reached the latter parish during the night, where he found that Carleton had arrived in the evening. Here the German troops were quartered; and spent their first night on American soil.

---

[1] Not clear.— *Translator.*

[2] Carleton had requested to have Tunderfeld for his adjutant.

THE UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT OF THE AMERICANS NEAR THREE RIVERS, JUNE 9TH, 1776.

[Extract from *Riedesel's Journal.*]

The rebels, who still numbered at that time 5,000 men, had at first resolved to make a stand at Three Rivers; but the arrival of the first small reenforcements of the English, leading them to expect that more were to follow, so frightened them, that they dared not retain their position, but fell back to Montreal and the south side of the river.

Neither Generals Carleton nor Burgoyne were able to pursue the enemy any further with the small number of men with which they had hitherto opposed the enemy. They determined, therefore, to wait until their reenforcements should come up; and, accordingly, Burgoyne ordered those of our troops who had arrived in the vicinity of Three Rivers to remain there under the command of Brigadier General Frazer.

Frazer himself was in the city, and had no other troops on shore, except a small body of Indians, a few Canadian volunteers, a part of McLean's regiment, and a small detachment of English troops that had been taken from the ships at Three Rivers for the purpose of strengthening his post.

Meanwhile, the rebels having learned from some disloyal Canadians in that region, that Frazer was on land with only 300 men, resolved to surprise him. Accordingly, a corps of 1,500 rebels was sent across the river from Sorel, with the design of going around Frazer, and getting in the rear of Three Rivers from Les Forges. It is believed that this attempt of the rebels would have been successful, had not the guide, who conducted them through the woods, been a good royalist. He was cute enough to lead the rebel corps over a circuitous road, thus enabling Frazer not only to be on his guard, but to rally all the troops from the ships and give the enemy a hearty welcome. He went out to meet him on the road to Montreal, and soon came in sight of his column. Frazer, thereupon, ordered a halt, and had one of the English regiments lie down on a gentle rise of ground, and pour upon the enemy, who suspected nothing, a well directed and spirited fire. The Americans, astonished at such an unexpected welcome, turned in dismay and fled toward their bateaux. The brigadier, however, pursued and scattered them so effectually, that his men had work enough for a day and a half in ferreting the rascals out of their hiding places into which they had crept. Two hundred of them were captured, and among them their leader, a certain Thomson, who represents a so-called general. Besides him,

a lieutenant colonel, four officers and a surgeon were taken. On our side, eight were killed, two dangerously, and nine slightly wounded. The troops of the regiment Riedesel, who were on board the ship *Harmony*, formed the reserve. The spot where this affair took place, is between Three Rivers and La Baulieu, or the field on the heights of Three Rivers.

ORDER OF GENERAL CARLETON IN REGARD TO THE MILITIA OF THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.[1]

1st. All private persons from the sixteenth to the sixtieth year shall be obliged to serve in their parishes; and in case of noncompliance, every one shall be fined five pounds sterling, the loss of his gun, or may be punished by arrest according to circumstances.

2d. Each militia man, who, by bad conduct, renders himself unworthy of the honor of serving in this corps, shall never be allowed to carry fire-arms. Those, also, who refuse to be mustered in shall be punished in the same manner as the last named class, and shall, moreover, be compelled to perform double duty in teaming and other work for one year, or until they shall have submitted to their militia captain in the presence of the oldest and most respectable citizens of the parish. This shall always be done on Sunday after public worship.

3d. The captains of militia shall send every year to their superior officers and the inspectors a report of the number of their subaltern officers and militia men able to serve.

4th. Each militia man, who changes his residence, shall report it to his captain.

5th. The captains or other militia officers shall rally their companies on the last two Sundays in June, or the first two in July. They shall also examine their arms, and have them fire at a target, not forgetting to instruct them on such occasions in regard to the service. The colonels of the militia and the inspectors shall hold a review once a year.

6th. The governor shall select a certain number of militia men in time of war, who, in pursuance of his orders, shall be obliged to

---

[1] This order went into force at the beginning of the year 1777, simultaneously with another one in regard to the administration of justice. Carleton divided the province of Quebec into two districts. One extended from the city to the Godefroy river on the south side, and the Maurice river on the north side of the St. Lawrence, between Cape Madelaine and Three Rivers. The other, or second district, included the territory lying between Montreal and the above mentioned small rivers. This order was, for the present, to be in force for only two years.

march when he thinks it advisable, and who shall serve in connection with the royal troops, but only as militia men under royal officers appointed by the governor. At the expiration of a year, these militia men shall be relieved by others.

7th. Every inhabitant, who is above sixty years old and keeps a man servant, or owns real estate and a team, shall be obliged to serve when necessary in the transportation of supplies for the army.

8th. The captains of militia shall constantly keep an eye on all deserters, whether soldiers, sailors, vagabonds, spies, and other suspicious persons, and arrest all such.

9th. Those persons who are exempted from performing military duty are: 1st, councilmen, judges, and other public civil officers. 2d, gentlemen who are called *primitis*, and also the lower nobility, who were acknowledged as such before the country was conquered. 3d, officers who are on half pay or disbanded. 4th, all persons belonging to the clergy; and 5th, the students of the two seminaries at Quebec and Montreal, and likewise, all persons who are employed in useful public business.

ADDRESS OF JOHN BURGOYNE,

Lieutenant General of the armies of his Majesty in America; Colonel of the Queen's regiment of Light Dragoons; Governor of Fort William in North Britain; Member of the Lower House of Great Britain; Commander of an army and a fleet on the Expedition from Canada, etc., etc.

The troops intrusted to my command are designed to act in union and complete accord with the numerous armies and fleets which have already disseminated, in every part of America, the power, the justice and — when properly solicited — the mercy of the king.

The cause for which British arms are now so actively engaged, is of the deepest interest to the human heart; and the troops of the crown, at first called together for the sole purpose of preserving intact the rights of the constitution, now unite to the love of their country and their duty to their ruler, those broad principles which spring from a proper appreciation of the rights of man. The sad question appeals directly to the eyes and ears of the moderate portion of the people, and the hearts of the thousands who suffer in the provinces, viz: Has not the present unnatural revolt been made the foundation of a complete system of tyranny, which God, in his displeasure, has always allowed to be exercised for a time, on a self-willed and stubborn generation?

Self-chosen incarceration, confiscation of property, persecution and martyrdom, such as has not been experienced in the inquisition of the Romish church, are a part of the open outrages which confirm the truth of this statement. All these are practiced on the subjects by conventions and committees (who dare to call themselves the "friends of liberty,") without regard to age or sex, not on account of crime, but because they are suspected of loyalty to the government under which they were born, and to which they owe allegiance by every tie of God and man. And to crown this outrageous conduct, the desecration of religion is added to the most wicked abuse of a sound human intellect. The conscience of man is considered of no account; and the masses are forced not only to take up arms, but to swear allegiance.

In consideration of this, at the head of troops who are in full health, discipline and bravery, resolved to punish when necessary, and to spare when it is possible, I call upon and exhort all persons, wherever my army goes — and with God's blessing, it will go a great ways — to manifest such conduct as shall justify me in sparing their lands, their houses, and their families. The object of this address is not to bring rapine upon this land, but to offer it protection.

To those who, by courage and bravery, feel themselves called upon to participate in the glorious work of liberating their country from bondage, and of recovering the blessings of a moderate government, I offer encouragement and employment, and will find the means of supporting their actions as soon as intelligence of their having united themselves to us has reached me. The diligent, the sturdy, the weak, and even the timid, I desire to aid, providing they remain quietly in their homes, do not drive away their cattle, hide or destroy their grain or feed, do not destroy the bridges nor the roads, nor, by other actions, directly or indirectly, impede the movements of the royal troops, or seek to support or help those of the enemy.

All kinds of provisions, that may be brought into my camp, shall be paid for in cash at a reasonable rate, and in good coin.

Considerations of Christianity, the mercy of my royal master, and the honor of the military calling, have caused me to lengthen this address, and I only wish that I possessed more forcible language to give it greater weight. May the people to whom it is addressed not reject it on account of the distance of my camp. I have but to let loose the Indians under my command (who number thousands) to reach the foes of Great Britain and America, wherever they may be concealed, for I consider them one and the same.

If, in spite of these exertions, and honest endeavors to carry them out, the madness of hostility should still continue, then I hope to stand justified in the sight of God and man in pronouncing and exe-

cuting the vengeance of the state on the stubborn reprobates. The messengers of justice and anger expect them on the battle-field; while desolation, famine, and all the terrors connected with it, must be their portion, which, although it may come slowly, in the unavoidable execution of military duty, must inevitably cut off the way for their return.[1]

J. BURGOYNE.

In camp at ——, 1777,

By order of his Excellency the Lieutenant General.

ROBERT KINGSTON, Secretary.

DESCRIPTION OF TICONDEROGA AND THE FORTS SOUTH OF IT AT THE TIME OF THEIR OCCUPATION BY THE AMERICANS IN THE YEAR 1777.[2]

[From the *Journal.*]

The following items, which could not be added to the diary, when it was sent to Germany, will show the condition of Ticonderoga, and the other forts previous to the commencement of this year's campaign. They are taken from the memorials of Major Kingston, adjutant general of General Burgoyne, and extends to May 13th, 1776.

I.—*Fort Carillon.*

In this are eight eighteen-pounder guns in double fortified works. It is surrounded on the north side by palisades in front of, and surrounding which is an abatis. Between this fort and the old French redoubt a new log-house (block house) has been built.

II.—*The old French Redoubt.*

This is about two hundred rods east of the fort, and is mounted with six cannons, four of which are nine-pounders and two twelve-pounders. This redoubt has been repaired (its old shape being preserved), and is also surrounded by an abatis.

---

[1] This manifesto, which was printed and distributed among the inhabitants of the rebellious provinces as widely as possible, was composed by Burgoyne himself. He was, as has been already remarked, a *bel esprit*, and it is therefore full of superfluous and high flown phrases, which very likely excited more of a smile than terror on the part of the inhabitants. The name of the place, as well as the date of this proclamation, was omitted for the reason that it was issued at different places, and on separate days.

[2] This portion of the appendix is an invaluable contribution to our Revolutionary history, and will doubtless be read with intense interest.— *Translator.*

III.—*The old French lines.*

These have lately been somewhat repaired, but are not mounted. The palisades have also not been repaired.

IV.—*The Five Redoubts near the shore.*

These are situated in a northeasterly direction from the fort at the foot of a hill. They have not been repaired.

N.B.— On the 13th of May, the news reached us, that the rebels were about repairing, and placing cannons upon them, but as yet, it is unknown of what calibre they are to be. It has been said, however, that they may be two eighteen-pounders and a few twelve-pounders that are expected about October.

All these redoubts, as well as the lines, are poorly manned.

V.— *Fort* (*Mount*) *Independence.*

(*a.*) North of the mountain is a strong abatis where twelve cannons are posted; one of which is a thirty-two-pounder, and the rest are eighteen and twelve-pounders. All of the works are surrounded by a strong abatis.

(*b.*) One hundred yards from the works are smaller fortifications, in which three eighteen-pounders and three twenty-four-pounders are placed.

(*c.*) South of these works are barracks and palisades; and in front of them is another abatis. In the rear of the former are eight nine-pounders. Besides these, there are twelve more nine and twelve-pounders, designed for the defense of the barracks. These, however, are not yet mounted.

N.B.— According to late news, twenty cannons have been taken to a battery, in a northerly direction, at the foot of the fort, with a view of commanding the lake. These are twelve-and eighteen-pounders.

(*d.*) There are a few cannons on the half-moon battery, which defend *en barbette.*

(*e.*) There are about one hundred iron cannons on the ships near Carillon; but there are no mortars whatever. These iron cannons are mostly old ones.

Particulars.

The number of troops, at present in Carillon and near Mount Independence, does not exceed 1,300 men; but reenforcements amounting to fifteen regiments, are hourly expected. There is an abundance of provisions. No preparations have been made to build new ships. The vessels of the enemy consist of a rowing

vessel, an old sloop, and two two-masters. The troops from New England arrive daily in front of No. 4.

N.B.— Intelligence, as late as May 13th, states, that there are at Ticonderoga (including the laborers), 2,800 men. Their chief business at that time consisted in cantooning and in constructing a bridge, the foundation of which was laid in the winter by the rebels. This foundation consists of between forty and fifty sunken boxes, filled with stones, and laid at a distance of fifty feet from each other. It is thought, that this bridge cannot be finished even in two months, from the 14th of May. It is to serve as a connection between Mount Independence and Fort Carrillon, and is to cover the retreat in case one of those posts should be captured. The turnpikes are north of the bridge, but the ships south, in order to defend it. Close behind this bridge is another and smaller one, which is only five feet in width. It is designed for pedestrians, and is between the store houses and Mount Independence.

The rebels have lately received 150 tons of powder. This has been the whole supply the entire winter. They have also received four four-pounders, which were made at Cambridge, near Boston. A great supply of muskets has, likewise, arrived from the West India islands. A French engineer officer has lately reached the rebel army, and was appointed engineer-in-chief.[1]

Fort Skenesborough.

The garrison here consists of about 80 men. No preparations, whatever, have been made at this post for ship-building. There are barracks here, surrounded by palisades, in which provisions and a large quantity of war material are stored.

Fort Anne.

Is garrisoned by about thirty men, and has a barrack with palisades.

Fort George.[2]

1st. The citadel has only recently been repaired and provided with two nine-pounders. It contains, also, twelve cannons, which are not yet mounted. Barracks for 1,000 men lie twenty yards east of it.

2d. Close to the shore is a large magazine in which there is an abundance of provisions.

---

[1] Kosciusko, the Pole?— *Translator.*

[2] Fort *Edward* in the original; but, as the well informed reader will see, this is probably a typographical error, as Fort George, at the head of Lake George, is of course the fort here described.—*Translator.*

3d. To the west of this magazine, where Fort William Henry formerly stood, is the large hospital, a building of great dimensions, and used for the sick from Fort Carrillon. This is said to be surrounded by palisades, and to have a small redoubt on the hill south of it.[1] A strong guard is posted here every night. The rebels at Fort George are very busy in cutting down trees and carrying them to the shore to be used in the construction of six strong vessels on the lake. A so-called Commodore Wynkoop, is said to be still in command at this post; only one regiment, it is further said, remains here during summer; but as yet there are only 400 men there. There is also considerable scarcity in ammunition.

A LIST OF THE COMMANDERS, CHIEF AND STAFF OFFICERS OF THE HESSIAN REGIMENTS WHO FOUGHT IN AMERICA, AT THE TIME OF THEIR DEPARTURE FROM EUROPE IN 1776.

The Grenadier Battalion.

1. Lieutenant Colonel Von Linsing, . . . 1 Battalion.
2. " " Block, ... 2 "
3. " " Miningerode, . . 3 "
4. " " Köhler, . . . 4 "

The Infantry Regiment.

1 Colonel Von Lossberg, ... Regiment.
2. " Wurmb, ... "
3. Lieutenant Colonel Von Linsing in command of a grenadier battalion, ... Body Infantry Regiment.
4. Major Von Wurmb, . . . " " "
1. Major General Stein, ... Erbprince.
2. Colonel Von Hachenberg, ... "
3. Lieutenant Colonel Von Kochenhausen, who also acted as quarter master general, ... "
4. Major Von Fuchs, ... "
1. Major General Schmidt, ... Prince Carl.
2. Colonel Schreiber, ... "
3. Lieutenant Colonel Von Lengorke, . . . "
4. Major Von Löwenstein, ... "
1. Colonel Von Kospoth, ... Wutgenau.
2. Lieutenant Colonel Von Romrod, . . . "
3. Major Von Haustein, ... "

---

[1] The remains of this redoubt, which are still to be seen, bears the name of Fort Gage.— *Translator.*

1. Colonel Von Bose, ... Ditfurth.
2. Lieutenant Colonel Von Schuler, ... "
3. Major Von Borke, ... "
4. Major du Puy, acted as Brigade Major, . . . "
1. Colonel Von Gosen, ... Donop.
2. Lieutenant Colonel Heimel, ... "
3. Major Hinthe, ... "
1. Colonel Von Heeringen, ... Lossberg.
2. Lieutenant Colonel Schaeffer, ... "
3. Major Von Haustein, ... "
1. Lieutenant General Von Kniphausen, . . Kniphausen.
2. Colonel Von Borke, ... "
3. Lieutenant Colonel Von Minningerode, . . "
4. Major Von Dechlow, ... "
1. Maj. Gen. Von Trimbach (remained in the country),[1] Trimbach.
2. Colonel Von Bischhausen, ... "
3. Lieutenant Colonel Block commanded a grenadier battalion, ... "
4. Major Von Münchhausen, ... "
1. Major Von Mirbach, ... Mirbach.
2. Colonel Von Lose, ... "
3. Lieutenant Colonel Von Schieck, ... "
4. Major Biesenroth, ... "
1. Colonel Rall, ... Rall.
2. Lieutenant Colonel Köhler commanded the battalion of grenadiers, ... "
3. Lieutenant Colonel Brethauer, ... "
4. Major Machäus, ... "
1. Colonel Von Seitz, ... Stirn.
2. Lieutenant Colonel Schlemmer, ... "
3. " " Von Schreyrogel, ... "
4. Major Greiff, ... "
1. Colonel Von Horn, ... Wiessenbach.
2. Lieutenant Colonel Lange, ... "
3. Major Schaeffer, ... "
1. Colonel Von Huyne, ... Huyne.
2. Lieutenant Colonel Kurtz, ... "
3. Major Hildebrandt, ... "
1. Colonel Von Bünau, ... Bünau.
2. Lieutenant Colonel Von Borbeck, ... "
3. Major Mathias, ... " "

[1] In America.—*Translator.*

LETTER FROM A BRUNSWICK OFFICER TO A FRIEND IN BRUNSWICK ILLUSTRATING AFFAIRS IN CANADA AT THAT TIME.

QUEBEC, *October* 27, 1776.

This will probably be the last letter that I will be able to send you during this year. Lieut. Haynes, formerly the agent of our squadron, is kind enough to carry it with him to London, to which place he will sail to-morrow in the Pallas — all of the ships leaving here at that time to avoid being blocked up the ice. I hope that all of my letters have safely reached you, though I have not received a single answer to any of them. We are all, however, in the same fix, and no one can explain the reason, when so many ships are constantly arriving.

The army is going into winter quarters. We will be quartered between Trois Rivières and Chambly. Major General Riedesel takes quarters in Trois Rivières, and Colonel Specht in Chambly. We are furnished for winter with long pants, gloves and overcoats, and I guess, perhaps, that we are to have a winter campaign. I know the cost of such expeditions.

You probably have learned from the newspapers of the great advantages gained by our armies. The lake[1] is free: Fort Frederick is in our possession; and the flotilla of the rebels is ruined, with very little loss on our side. The Brunswick troops have not been engaged; consequently there is no loss and no advancement to be hoped for. We receive no newspapers from Europe; and as our letters also fail to arrive, we are all in the dark respecting the political situation. Please give us some light upon it, if possible. Rumors are current here of a war between Spain and Portugal, but they are only rumors.

Thus we march further up into the country. But you may ask, what say the belles of Quebec to it? My dear friend, this goes to my heart, and I must say I dread the departure! How many parties have been arranged, but are now to be given up! Nevertheless, the order for a march at once, transforms the heart of a soldier into stone, and hardens it like steel. Instead of the fair sex, we must now hunt the bear, the moose and the caribou! The one is in direct opposition to the other, but what can a poor fellow do! *Fiat voluntas Domini* is the motto of a soldier.

We have to make the march on land, which will not be very pleasing. The weather begins to be rough; the roads are shocking, and our winter equipment is not wholly completed.

[1] Champlain.

I have not heard lately from Auton, but trust he is well. His regiment is still encamped near Chambly.

Our fare, during the winter, will probably consist of salt pork, and beef, and crackers. At least, this is the supposition, as fresh meat and vegetables are really very scarce. Vegetables are not much cultivated here, at least not in such quantities as to supply the number of men, at present in this province. The many wars have pulled heavily upon Canada, though it has never been more prosperous than when under the English rule. During the last fifteen years, more than half of the country has been placed in a partial state of cultivation, and the number of the inhabitants has increased one-third. Compared with the age of men, Canada is now a boy of eleven or twelve years.

I must close, as a messenger has just called for this letter. The ship is weighing anchor, and is about to sail.

Good bye, be happy and merry. My best compliments to all.

Ever Yours,

AUGUST.

THE BATTLE OF BENNINGTON.

BROOKLYN, *September* 27, 1866.

WM. L. STONE, Esq.

My Dear Sir: The following narrative was communicated to me in 1828, by Mr. Stafford of Albany, the son of an American captain, who was in the battle of Bennington. I send you herewith my original notes of the conversation, taken down at the time from the lips of the narrator, which you may cheerfully make use of (if you so desire), in your forthcoming translation.

Respectfully yours,

THEODORE DWIGHT.

My father lived in the western part of Massachusetts, and when Colonel Warner called upon the militia to come out and defend the public stores at Bennington, he set off at once with many of his neighbors, and hurried his march. He was well known to his townsmen; and so much esteemed, that the best men were ready to go with him; many of them pious people, long members of the church, and among them young and old, and of different conditions.

When they reached the ground, they found the Hessians posted in a line; and on a spot of high ground, a small redoubt was seen

formed of earth just thrown up, where they understood a body of loyalists or provincial troops, that is, tories, was stationed. Colonel Warner had command under General Stark; and it is generally thought that he had more to do than his superior in the business of the day. He was held in high regard by the Massachusetts people; and my father soon reported himself to him, and told him he awaited his orders. He was soon assigned a place in the line, and the tory fort was pointed out as his particular object of attack.

When making arrangements to march out his men, my father turned to a tall, athletic man, one of the most vigorous of the band, and rather remarkable for size and strength among his neighbors. "I am glad," said he, "to see you among us. You did not march with the company; but, I suppose, you are anxious for the business of the day to begin." This was said in the hearing of the rest, and attracted their attention. My father was surprised and mortified, on observing the man's face turn pale, and his limbs tremble. With a faltering voice, he replied: "Oh no, sir, I didn't come to fight, I only came to drive back the horses!" "I am glad," said my father, "to find out we have a coward among us, before we go into battle. Stand back, and do not show yourself here any longer."

This occurrence gave my father great regret, and he repented having spoken to the man in the presence of his company. The country you know, was at that time in a very critical state. General Burgoyne had come down from Canada with an army, which had driven all the American troops before it; Crown point and Ticonderoga, the fortresses of Lake Champlain, in which the northern people placed such confidence, had been deserted at his approach; and the army had disgraced itself by a panic retreat, without fighting a battle, while Burgoyne was publishing boastful and threatening proclamations, which frightened many, and induced some to declare for the king. Just at such a time, when so many bad examples were set, and there were so many dangers to drive others to follow, it was a sad thing to see a hale, hearty, tall man shake and tremble in the presence of the enemy, as we were just going to fight them. However, an occurrence happened, fortunately, to take place immediately after, which made amends. There was an aged and excellent old man present, of a slender frame, stooping a little with advanced age and hard work, with a wrinkled face, and well known as one of the oldest persons in our town, and the oldest on the ground. My father was struck with regard for his aged frame, and, much as he felt numbers to be desirable in the impending struggle, he felt a great reluctance at the thought of leading him into it. He therefore turned

to him, and said: "The labors of the day threaten to be severe, it is therefore my particular request, that you will take your post as sentinel yonder, and keep charge of the baggage." The old man stepped forward with an unexpected spring, his face was lighted up with a smile, and pulling off his hat, in the excitement of his spirit, half affecting the gayety of a youth, while his loose hair shone as white as silver, he briskly replied: "Not till I've had a shot at them first, captain, if you please." All thoughts were now directed towards the enemy's line; and the company, partaking in the enthusiasm of the old man, gave three cheers. My father was set at ease again in a moment; and orders being soon brought to advance, he placed himself at their head, and gave the word: "Forward, march!"

He had observed some irregularity in the ground before them, which he had thought might favor his approach; and he soon discovered that a small ravine, which they soon entered, would cover his determined little band from the shot of the enemy, and even from their observation, at least for some distance. He pursued its course; but was so far disappointed in his expectations, that, instead of terminating at a distance from the enemy's line, on emerging from it, and looking about to see where he was, he found the fresh embankment of the tory fort just above him, and the heads of the tories peeping over, with their guns leveled at him. Turning to call on his men, he was surprised to find himself flat on the ground without knowing why; for the enemy had fired, and a ball had gone through his foot into the ground, cutting some of the sinews just as he was stepping on it, so as to bring him down. At the same time, the shock had deafened him to the report of the muskets.

The foremost of his soldiers ran up and stooped to take him in their arms, believing him to be dead or mortally wounded; but he was too quick for them, and sprang on his feet, glad to find he was not seriously hurt, and was able to stand. He feared that his fall might check his followers; and, as he caught a glimpse of a man in a red coat running across a distant field, he cried out, "Come on, my boys! They run! They run!" So saying, he sprang up, and clambering to the top of the fort, while the enemy were hurrying their powder into the pans and the muzzles of their pieces, his men rushed on shouting and firing, and jumping over the breastwork, and pushing upon the defenders so closely, that they threw themselves over the opposite wall, and ran down the hill as fast as their legs would carry them.

Those raw soldiers, as most of them were, were ready to laugh at themselves, when they turned round and saw themselves, their new

position, masters of a little fort which their enemies had been hard at work to construct, they knew not how long; but out of which they had so easily been set a scampering, merely because they had shown some resolution and haste in assaulting it.

The result of the day's battle is well known. The Hessians and other troops with them, suffered a total defeat; and not only were the stores at Bennington protected and saved, and the army of Burgoyne weakened by the loss of a considerable body of troops, but the spirits of the people greatly encouraged, and the hope of final success revived. From that time there was less difficulty found in collecting troops; and the recruiting of our army at Bemis's Heights, or Saratoga, as it is often called, was more easily effected.

It so happened that many years after the close of the war, and when I had heard my father tell this story many times over, I became acquainted with an old townsman of his, who was a loyalist, and took an active part as a soldier in the service of King George; and he told me a story of the battle of Bennington which I think you would like to hear.

Story told by one who was in the Tory Fort.

I lived not far from the western borders of Massachusetts when the war began, and knew your father very well. Believing that I owed duty to my king, I became known as a loyalist, or, as they called me, a tory; and soon found my situation rather unpleasant. I therefore left home, and soon got among the British troops who were coming down with Burgoyne, to restore the country to peace, as I thought. When the Hessians were sent to take the military stores at Bennington, I went with them; and took my station with some of the other loyalists in a redoubt or small fort in the line. We were all ready when we saw the rebels coming to attack us; and were on such a hill and behind such a high bank, that we felt perfectly safe, and thought we could kill any body of troops they would send against us, before they could reach the place we stood upon. We had not expected, however, that they would approach us under cover; but supposed we should see them on the way. We did not know that a little gully which lay below us, was long and deep enough to conceal them; but they knew the ground, and the first we saw of the party coming to attack us, they made their appearance right under our guns. Your father was at the head of them. I was standing at the wall at the time, with my gun loaded in my hand; and several of us leveled our pieces at once. I took as fair aim at them as I ever did at a bird in my life, and thought I was sure of them; though we had

to point so much downwards, that it made a man but a small mark. We fired together, and he fell. I thought he was dead to a certainty; but to our surprise he was on his feet again in an instant, and they all sprang right up the bank so that they did not give us time to load, and came jumping into the midst of us, with such a noise, that we thought of nothing but getting out of the way of their muskets as fast as possible. I saw all my companions were going over the wall on the other side, and I went too. We had open fields before us, and scattered in all directions, some followed by our enemies. I ran some distance with another man, and looking around saw several of your father's soldiers who were coming after us, level their muskets to fire. We had just reached a rail fence, and both of us gave a jump at the same instant to go over it. While I was in the air I heard the guns go off. We reached the ground together, but my companion fell and lay dead by the fence, while I ran on with all my might, finding I was not hurt.

I looked back, hoping to see no one following me; but I was frightened on discovering a tall, rawboned fellow, running like a deer, only a short distance behind, and gaining on me every step he took. I immediately reflected that my gun was only a useless burthen, for it was discharged, and had no bayonet; and, although a valuable one, I thought my only chance of saving my life, lay in lightening myself as much as possible. I therefore gave my gun a throw off to one side, so that if my pursuer should choose to pick it up he should lose some distance by it; and then without slackening my speed, I turned my head to see how he took the manœuvre; and found he had not only taken advantage of my hint, and thrown away his own gun, but was also just kicking off his shoes. I tried to throw off my own in the same way, but they were fastened on with a pair of old fashioned silver buckles. I strained myself to the utmost to reach a wood which lay a little way before me, with the desperate hope of finding some way of losing myself in it. I ventured one look more; and was frightened almost out of my senses at finding the bare-legged fellow almost upon me, and ready to gripe, and perhaps strangle me by main force. I did not like to stop and give myself up as a prisoner; for I supposed he must be in a terrible passion, or he would not have taken such extraordinary pains to overtake me; and even if he should spare my life and do me no injury, in that solitary spot, I did not know what to expect from the rebels, as we called them. So I ran on, though but an instant more; for I had hardly turned my head again before I found the appearance of a wood which I had seen was only the tops of some trees growing on the

borders of Wallamsack creek, which ran at the foot of a frightful precipice, the edge of which I had reached. I felt as if it were almost certain death to go farther; but I had such a dread of my pursuer, that I set but lightly by my danger, and instead of stopping on the brink, I ran right off, without waiting even to see where I was going.

I fell like a stone, and the next instant struck on my feet in soft mud, with a loud, spatting noise, which I heard repeated close by me: Spat! spat! for down came the fierce fellow after me, and struck close by me in the wet clay, by the edge of the water. I looked at him with perfect dismay; for what could I do then? I had sunk into the mud up to my knees, and was entirely unarmed. It was some relief to see, that he had no pistol to shoot me, and was not quite near enough to reach me. He, however, was beginning to struggle to get his legs out, and I expected to see him free and springing upon me in a moment more. I struggled too, but found it was no easy work to extricate myself, and began to think, that it would probably be as bad for him. This encouraged me to try with all my might; and I thought I found my neighbor was much slower in getting out than I had feared. Indeed I could not perceive, for some time, that either of us made any advances, although we had wasted almost all our remaining strength. I now remarked, that my enemy was standing much deeper in the mud than myself. Oh, thought I, the fellow was barefooted; that is the reason: the soles of my shoes had prevented me from sinking quite so deep; there is a good chance of my getting out before him. Still neither of us spoke a word. So I struggled again most violently; but the straps of my shoes were bound tight across my ancles, and held them to my feet, while I felt that I had not strength enough to draw them out. This made me desperate; and I made another effort, when the straps gave way, and I easily drew out one bare foot, and placed it on the top of the ground. With the greatest satisfaction I found the other slipping smoothly up through the clay; and, without waiting to regret my shoe buckles (which were of solid silver), or to exchange a blow or a word with my enemy, whom I was still dreadfully afraid of, I ran down the shore of the brook, as fast as my legs could carry me.

A man, who has never been frightened as I was, with the expectation of instant death, cannot easily imagine how far he will run, or how much he can do, to get out of danger. I thought for some time, that my long-legged enemy was coming, and ran on, afraid almost to look behind me. But he did not come; and I never saw or heard

of him again. How he could have got out, I cannot imagine; and there seemed to be no chance of his finding help very soon, so that I think he must have spent the night in that uncomfortable condition, and may have stayed, for aught I know, till he starved to death.

However, my fears were not dispelled; for I knew our whole detachment had been entirely routed: Germans, Englishmen, tories, and all; and, as I thought there would be a pursuit by our conquerors, I expected every moment to meet some of them, with arms in their hands. Indeed, at any moment I might be discovered by some of them, and fired upon before I could see them; so I chose the most secret paths and courses I could find, keeping among the thickest trees and bushes, and avoiding every house and sign of inhabitants, under a constant fear of being dead or a prisoner the next moment. Who can tell what I suffered in that one day? I had been delivered from the imminent danger of musket balls, bayonets, the close pursuit of a rancorous enemy, a leap from a precipice and a long and most fatiguing run through a wild and unknown region, traversed, as I presumed, by many men thirsting for my blood. Night was now approaching, and I felt almost faint with the want of food as well as weariness. But I soon reached a region which I began to recognize as one I had before seen; and, knowing that the house of my brother-in-law was not far distant, I determined to visit it, and get such food and clothes as I now greatly needed. On second thoughts I concluded that I might be in danger even there. There might be a party of my enemies in the neighborhood, if not in possession of the house; for in such times, in a region overrun by war, one party often occupies a position one day or one hour which they give up to their enemies the next. I therefore determined to proceed with great caution; and, although I soon came in sight of the house, and was suffering greatly from the want of rest and refreshment, I concealed myself, and watched the neighborhood as long as I could see, and then, after remaining quiet till late in the night, stole out softly, and walked round the house, listening carefully, and scrutinizing everything, to discover traces of any change unfavorable to my wishes.

Finding no sign of danger, I at length mustered up courage and entered the house, where I found the family had not all retired to rest; and was very glad to see my sister coming towards me with an air of unconcern, which showed the household had not been disturbed. When she approached me, however, she addressed me as a stranger; and then, for the first time, I began to think of my appearance. There had been powder enough burnt in the fort to blacken my

face as dark as an Indian's, and the perspiration which had started out during my races had washed it partly off in streaks, so that the expression of my countenance was strangely altered. At the same time I was without a coat, and my few remaining garments were torn by thorns and spattered with mud.

I was treated with the utmost kindness by my sister as soon as she recognized me; and, after eating a good meal, and taking a long night's rest, I felt quite well and strong. She kept me as long as I was willing to stay; but I did not feel safe out of the army, which then seemed sure of soon reaching Albany and finishing the war. I soon set off on foot, reached Burgoyne's lines, and was placed in the tory fort on the eastern brow of Bemis's heights. There I thought myself safe once more. The abatis, formed of rough trees, with their branches on, which had been laid on the sides of the fort, appeared absolutely impassable by any body of the enemy. But in this I was disappointed; for, when the battle came on, the Yankees rushed upon our fortification with impetuosity, and in such numbers that they soon covered the ground and trees, that they were as thick as the hair on a dog. Again I was glad to save myself by a rapid retreat.

END OF VOL. I.

Stanford University Libraries
3 6105 010 232 762

975.5
R552

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
STANFORD AUXILIARY LIBRARY
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305-6004
(415) 723-9201
All books may be recalled after 7 days

DATE DUE

28D FEB 21 1996